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The Illustrated London News, 1842-52

Ann Hofstra Grogg

Submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of English

Indiana University

April 1977

April 1977

We accept this dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of English.

Martha Vicinus, Chairman

William A. Burgan

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Preface

The Illustrated London News was one of the most popular journals of the Victorian era. Its wide circulation was due primarily to its innovation in illustrated journalism; it was Britain's, and the world's, first illustrated newspaper. Illustrations from woodcuts had for many years appeared in newspapers and journals on special occasions, but the Illustrated London News, which began publication on May 14, 1842, was the first newspaper to employ artists and engravers on a regular basis and to provide its readers with numerous illustrations in every issue, illustrations sketched at the scene by special artists, rushed through the process of engraving, and reproduced at the week's end for the edification and enjoyment of its readers. The breadth and variety of the paper's contents were also responsible for its success. The journal clearly saw its mission as the presentation of a panorama of the life of the times. The preface to volume one proclaimed,

> What would Sir Walter Scott or any of the great writers of modern time have given--whether for the purposes of fiction or history, or political example and disquisition--for any museum-preserved volume such as we have here enshrined. The life of the times--the signs of its taste and intelligence--its public monuments and public men--its festivals--institutions--amusements--discoveries--and the very reflection of its living manners and costumes--the variegated dresses of its mind and body--what are--what must be all these but treasures of truth that would have lain hid in Time's tomb, or perished amid the sand of his hour-glass but for the enduring and resuscitating powers of art, the eternal register of the pencil giving life and vigour and palpability to the confirming details of the pen. . . . It will pour the lore of the Antiquarian into the scholar's yearning soul, and teach him the truth about those who have gone before him, as it were, with the Pictorial Alphabet of Art!

Published every Saturday, the Illustrated London News provided its subscribers with sixteen folio pages of three columns each, containing at least thirty illustrations and enough reading to fill out their day of leisure. It summarized the week's foreign and domestic news and included regular columns on activities in Parliament, in the court and "haut ton," in the Assize and police courts, in the money markets, in the Church and universities, and on the racetracks. Leaders and editorials provided commentary on issues of particular importance each week. Columns on the fine arts, literature, music, and the theater apprised readers of current exhibitions, publications, and productions. And columns on members of Parliament, chess, "Nooks and Corners of Old England," church architecture, travel, and fashion spoke to those with special interests. The introduction of serialized fiction proved popular, and special supplements containing tales and sketches or useful information appeared with increasing frequency. All these regular features, as well as the special features, were generously illustrated.

Begun amid partisan newspapers and journals meant to convert, reform, or instruct, the Illustrated London News was a strictly commercial venture. Its founder, Herbert Ingram, was neither a writer nor a journalist but a one-time newsagent from Nottingham who published the world's first illustrated paper to make money--which he did; he soon built a publishing empire of journals, periodicals, and illustrated books, buying out his rivals almost as soon as they appeared. But the Illustrated London News was his signal success. He carefully shaped the paper's contents to the interests and concerns of Britain's middle-class families,

and among them the Illustrated London News was practically a household habit.

The Illustrated London News is as familiar to students of Victorian Britain as it was to the Victorians themselves. As a source of illustrations of the period it is unexcelled. But that is part of the problem; for decades scholars have ransacked its pages for illustrations, but few have actually read it. The lack of a basic, introductory study of the Illustrated London News is serious not only because of the journal's richness and importance but precisely because of its familiarity to Victorian scholars. Casual, often inaccurate, references to it abound. It has been called, for example, both right of center and working class. In fact, it was neither. In the 1840s, at least, it was clearly left of center, advocating reform in the Poor Law, in sanitation, in factory and mining regulations, and continuously elaborating on the miseries of the poor, and of the Irish, to elicit sympathy for them and an understanding of their needs. And it was always, from the beginning, addressed to the middle classes.

Perhaps the Illustrated London News has not received the serious scholarly attention it deserves because its very emphasis on illustration makes it seem trivial, or because it survives today as a slick monthly addressed to the country set. Or perhaps it is because, as Raymond Williams has pointed out in The Long Revolution, Sunday and feature journals seem to fall in between everyone's jurisdictions. Historians of the development of English journalism have focused their attention on the powerful dailies, particularly The Times, the Morning Chronicle, and the

Manchester Guardian, or on the cheap papers of the later nineteenth century, which seemed to have shaped the nature of twentieth-century journalism. Literary historians have analyzed the great reviews--the Athenaeum, Quarterly Review, Saturday Review, and Westminster Review, for example--perhaps to the extent of overemphasizing their influence; their circulations were, after all, very small. And scholars interested in Victorian periodicals have examined journals with specific purposes and well-defined audiences--family publications like Household Words, partisan magazines like the Penny Magazine, aesthetic journals like the Germ, and others of various complexions, circulations, and longevities. But despite recent activity, research in Victorian periodicals remains uneven, and much work is still determined by what archives or "marked files" survive, not by a journal's intrinsic importance.

This is a study of the Illustrated London News during its first decade, 1842-52. The period of consideration is limited to ten years partly because of the sheer mass of the journal--the type is small and those folio pages are very big and there were sixteen of them, relentlessly, every week, and as the paper grew more prosperous, one or two supplements a month. But the early years of any journal are crucial, particularly one of commercial, not partisan, intent. In these first years we can see Ingram experimenting with the contents of his paper--adding new features, stepping up one emphasis, cutting back on another--as he tested his audience, in fact as he created his audience, for the Illustrated London News was not only the first illustrated newspaper but the first Sunday paper to be aimed squarely at the middle classes. And, as it turns out, the

ILN's first decade is in itself an immensely interesting one, carrying England from the depression, distress, and riots of the early 1840s, through the Irish famine, the revolutions on the Continent, and Chartist threats of domestic violence, to the revival of trade and the celebration of peace, progress, and prosperity in the Great Exhibition of 1851.

The initial chapter provides, in the first sections, a general background to the British newspaper and periodical press of the 1840s, with special emphasis on the growth of the reading public, the development of Sunday papers and the cheap literature movement, technical advances that made possible the production of publications with a mass audience, the organization of the British newspaper industry, and the history of newspaper illustration and the related trade of wood engraving. This chapter concludes with the founding of the Illustrated London News. The second chapter, a lengthy miscellany, presents information on Ingram's management of an illustrated newspaper--the methods he developed for obtaining and reproducing illustrations, the journal's staff and contributors, its arrangements for printing, distribution, and promotion, and the auxiliary publishing enterprises of its proprietors. Source material for this information is fugitive and scattered; I have not to date located any archives from the paper's early days. What I have been able to put together for this section has come largely from the paper itself and from scavenging through the legion but contradictory memoirs of that special literary, journalistic, publishing milieu--Bohemians, they called themselves--that inhabited London at mid-century. But even here the information available is haphazard, as Herbert Ingram died suddenly in middle age before he

could give thought to that most Victorian of old men's occupations--the writing of one's memoirs. And for an era that delighted in autobiography, surprisingly few of the journal's original staff have left their own record. Nor has the journal itself commissioned the writing of its history.

In succeeding chapters I examine the contents of the Illustrated London News and attempt to define its character. The problem here is how to deal fairly with a great mass of material; inevitably, these chapters must survey and sample. In chapter 3 I look at the journal's reporting of the news, with particular attention to its treatment of crime and criminals. In chapter 4 I examine the journal's political and social commentary, with a focus on its opinions on the poor, poverty, and the social problems of city life. In chapter 5 I survey the journal's coverage of popular amusements and leisure activities--its magazine interest--and investigate in detail its literary features--its poems, serialized fiction, and reviews. In a brief conclusion I attempt to assess the importance of the Illustrated London News and to place it in relation to the larger aspects of Victorian culture and the history of the British newspaper press.

Throughout the study the Illustrated London News has been abbreviated to ILN, for so it is called in its own pages today. But Victorians were not so given to "alphabet agencies" as we have become, and preferred to call it the Illustrated News, the Illustrated, or simply the News. Titles appear in italics, though Victorian type convention often styled them in capitals and small capitals. Typographical errors (there were

surprisingly few) have been silently corrected; inconsistencies in spelling have been retained. As the reader will see in chapter 2, the ILN printed at least two editions on each number, and often a reprint edition as well. Hence the location of a particular article may vary from page to page in different editions, or, in some cases, may not appear at all. However, the variations between editions are not significant enough to warrant the identification of edition in footnote citations; indeed that would not always be possible, for when editions are identified they are labeled only as "country" and "reprint," and there may have been several of each. The copies of the Illustrated London News that I used for this study are the two complete sets in the collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

I should like to thank, first of all, my dissertation director Martha Vicinus, whose steady encouragement and sound advice, very kindly given at every step of the way, have been instrumental in the conception and completion of this study. The other members of my committee, William A. Burgan, Philip B. Daghlian, and Donald J. Gray, offered constructive comment on the early drafts and provided additional insights that made my revisions real improvements. Whatever felicity of expression I have achieved is owing to R. K. Webb, who as editor of the American Historical Review shared with those of us on the staff his love and standards for fine scholarly writing, and who took a particular interest in this project. The greatest

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Ann Hofstra Grogg

White Hall, Virginia
February 1977

Contents

Chapter 1

Founding an Illustrated Newspaper

The first issue of the Illustrated London News appeared in May 1842; it was a propitious time to start a newspaper. The development of British newspapers, like the rise of the British novel, was intimately related to the growth of the middle class and the transformation of England wrought by the Industrial Revolution.[1] In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and particularly after the passage of the Reform Bill, the middle classes of England came to dominate the industry, trade, and politics of a kingdom that was increasingly urban. The newspapers that served the interests of this powerful class were well established as viable organs with an independent and important influence of public opinion and government policy and a significant role in politics and society, and particularly in the various impulses for reform. No longer luxuries, newspapers were almost necessities.

The premier paper of the period was The Times, which, during the long proprietorship of the second John Walter, shook off political controls and found financial stability in advertising revenue, expanding circulation, and sound commercial organization. Opinion in matters of current interest came to be expressed openly in thoughtful, probing, and often well-written leading articles, or "leaders," that were modeled not only on the political pamphlets of the seventeenth century and the periodical essays of the early eighteenth century, but more particularly took their form and inspiration from the prose of opinion found

in Leigh Hunt's independent Examiner and the new powerful and partisan reviews, the Edinburgh, the Quarterly, and the Westminster. In addition to The Times, other powerful dailies published in London served the middle classes of the kingdom--the liberal Morning Chronicle, for example, and the ultra-conservative Morning Post. These, and the many small provincial papers that followed their lead, had a widely defined area of responsibility. They presented their readers with articles of opinion on current topics, with foreign and domestic intelligence, with reports on proceedings in Parliament and in the law and police courts, and with the commercial news--bulletins on ship arrivals, for example, and market prices--that had been the staple of newspaper contents for more than a century. In addition they had decades earlier expanded to include the so-called magazine interest, originally the exclusive province of periodicals like the well-known Tatler and Spectator. And so early Victorian readers also found in their papers reviews of new productions in literature, art, music, and the drama, and, in addition, information on scientific developments and discoveries, announcements of meetings of professional and learned societies, sketches of travel, scenery, adventure, notices of goings-on in court, fashionable society, and the world of sport, and, of course, advertisements, which were the financial backbone of all papers.

The newspaper reading habit was by no means confined to the middle classes, however, for from early in the nineteenth century the literate among the working classes had been newspaper readers, too, and those who could not read frequently heard newspapers read aloud in coffee houses

and public houses. The papers they read were not usually the well-known dailies that served the middle classes, and the history of the press in nineteenth-century Britain is marked from this point by a double pattern of development--that of the increasingly powerful and independent middle-class dailies, most of them already established at the beginning of the century, and that of the popular press, encompassing a wide variety of papers, most of them, until mid-century, weeklies, which were noncommercial in emphasis and served, by and large, the working classes. Constituting one important class of the popular press were papers generally called Sunday papers, though many were actually printed and distributed on Saturday. As these papers, though widely read, are not nearly so well-known as the middle-class dailies, and especially as they, more than any other papers, served as the model for the Illustrated London News, it is worth taking a close look at their development.[2]

The first Sunday papers--the Observer (1791), Bell's Weekly Messenger (1796), and the Weekly Dispatch (1801)--were merely summaries of news from the dailies and very much like them in format. Many, however, included a "Postscript," which detailed late news that would not be carried in the dailies until Monday, and some, attempting to overcome the stigma attached to Sunday publications, offered a column of religious instruction. The readers were at first largely middle-class, but, as weeklies, these papers were more amenable than the dailies to the schedule and pocket of the workingman, and these were the journals working people turned to for news of the Napoleonic wars. By 1810 the Sunday papers had a higher circulation than the dailies.

After 1815 the new working-class newspaper reader had another kind of newspaper to read. In direct opposition to the increase in the stamp tax--to 4d. per sheet--there emerged a new radical press. The leader was William Cobbett, who evaded the tax by eliminating news from his Political Register and issuing it as a periodical of opinion--price, 2d. The critique of domestic problems offered by the radical journalists found an eager audience among disaffected English workers, oppressed by the conditions concomitant with rapid industrialization and in particular by the depression that followed the peace. This was a new kind of journalism, and it reached a new group of readers. Government attempts to suppress the radical press were not long delayed, and shortly after the furor over the "Peterloo Massacre" in 1819, passage of the notorious "six acts" was secured. A newspaper was now defined as a journal containing news or opinion, and thus the ambiguity in the law that the radical press had exploited was eliminated. Unstamped radical journalism was, for a time, suppressed, but the working-class audience for newspapers had been enlarged and the division between the middle- and working-class press enforced.

In the 1820s the regular Sunday papers, duly stamped, took over the radical critique of the establishment that had been the province of the unstamped press. In addition, most of the Sunday papers had by this time, following the lead of the Weekly Dispatch, added to their staid weekly summaries of the news features designed to entertain and to maintain the kind of excitement formerly provided by battle reports. To interest the workingman on his leisure day they presented gossip of

"high life" and fashionable goings-on--and scandals--about London, news of the sporting world, particularly of prize fights (written in the Weekly Dispatch by the best-known sporting writer of the time, Pierce Egan), and, most important, reports of crime and criminals--particularly of murders and seductions and trials and executions--all related in a lively, informal, indeed slangy, style. These specialties were often frankly sensational. In coupling them with radical politics, Sunday papers hit exactly the right combination, and circulations soared. As Raymond Williams has pointed out, the Sunday papers were beginning to absorb some of the functions of street literature--of ballads, chapbooks, almanacs, and broadsheets of murderer's biographies and last dying speeches.

> This is the recurring tendency in the history of journalism; the absorption of material formerly communicated in widely varying ways into one cheaply-produced and easily-distributed general-purpose sheet. The economics of the newspaper business had, from the beginning, set this course, and it is clear how appropriate these factors of concentration and cheapness were, in a continually expanding culture. A wide range of interests was being brought into a literate form, and the pioneer of each expansion was the cheapest and most extensive print.[3]

Another recurring tendency might be pointed out: the absorption by the commercial press of political points of view successfully publicized by small, noncommercial papers issued not for profit but out of commitment.[4] By the end of the 1820s three types within the Sunday press could be distinguished--the political paper, the family paper, and the sporting paper--and the popular press was powerful enough to have an acknowledged impact on the movement for Reform.

At about the same time the cheap literature movement got under way, and working-class readers soon had a wide variety of affordable reading material. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge pointed to the social value of cheap, enlightening literature for the workingman and began to issue its Library of Useful Knowledge. Publishers with less purely benevolent motives made a good profit on cheap reprints of noncopyright fiction, for the growing reading public was becoming a significant factor in the economics of publishing. Most important, however, for this survey of the precursors of the Illustrated London News, were the cheap periodicals that sprang into existence. For a few pennies a week these offered their readers a miscellany of extracts from old and new books, brief articles on current topics, and "facts and scraps"--bits of information on a great variety of subjects. The Kaleidoscope, published in Liverpool in 1818, was one of the earliest; the Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction, conducted in London by John Limbird, was illustrated with woodcuts. But by far the best known of the periodicals spawned by the cheap literature movement were those designed specifically to replace "unwholesome" reading matter--the Penny Magazine, published by Charles Knight under the auspices of the SDUK, the Saturday Magazine, sponsored by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and Chambers's Edinburgh Journal. Commencing in 1832, all sought to "elevate and instruct" and contained original articles on scientific subjects as well as snippets of "useful knowledge." Politics was excluded. Chambers's Journal lightened its utilitarian cast with a weekly tale, always decent and amusing. Knight

could offer his readers no fiction, but he did, from time to time, embellish the pages of his Penny Magazine with woodcuts. The Saturday Magazine was similar in format to the Penny Magazine, but presented from a religious point of view. All achieved spectacular success, with initial circulations of 50,000 climbing to 200,000, but, very much like the Mechanics' Institutes and other "improving," educational literature, they served, in the end, the middle classes rather than the working classes for whom they were designed. Yet the increased availability of reading material for popular consumption inevitably enlarged the English reading public, and, in spite of sheer physical impediments such as long work hours and poor lighting, there was an enormous interest in reading among working people. As Knight pointed out, these magazines "were making readers. They were raising up a new class, and a much larger class than previously existed, to be the purchasers of books. They were slanting the commerce of books upon broader foundations than those upon which it had been previously built."[5]

As England entered the decade of the Great Reform, the cheap literature movement took active political form, and radical, unstamped journalism burst onto the scene again with a renewed agitation against the stamp tax. But despite the activities of radical journalists, and the public opinion aroused by their arrests, trials, and prison sentences, the real victory had to be won in Parliament. Middle-class opponents of the stamp tax argued both that it was a "tax on knowledge," that is, that it artificially restricted the discussion of ideas and so retarded the literacy and improvement of the working classes, and that

its very restraints encouraged the circulation among the working classes of a seditious and inflammatory, or frivolous and corrupting, brand of literature, a dangerous kind of reading material that could be eliminated by the removal of the tax. Here was focused a general debate in English culture over the cheap literature movement, indeed over the needs and purposes of education. Philanthropy argued for the literacy of the working classes. But once the working classes could read--and modern scholars accept that in the 1830s more than two-thirds of them could--their reading was not restricted to the religious tracts and "useful knowledge" provided them by the benevolent among the middle classes; they also read broadsheets, cheap novels, almanacs, and, as speakers in Parliament pointed out, newspapers advocating treasonous ideas. Hence the dilemma that was to make reformist Victorians uneasy for decades to come: the workingman uneducated and coarse or the workingman educated, and corrupt or dangerous or equal.

In 1836 reformers in Parliament, who wanted to make "better" literature cheaper and so drive out the radical press, gained only partial victory; the stamp tax was not eliminated but reduced to 1d. The tax on advertisements had been reduced to 1s. 6d. in 1833, and in 1837 the paper duty was cut to 1 1/2d. per pound. Stamp returns that same year showed that newspaper circulations increased by nearly one half and that over fifty new papers had been established in London and in the country. But, like most liberal measures, the reduction of the stamp tax also had the intended conservative effects. The middle-class dailies reduced their prices by only a few pennies--to 5d. or 6d.--

and used their increased income to improve their operations. The radical, unstamped press, on the other hand, lost its impetus and the margin of profit that had made the risk worthwhile, and largely disappeared.

The newly created readers, however, turned once again to the Sunday press, which thus profited, once again, from the demise of the radical press. Sunday papers, with all forms of popular literature, entered a new phase of expansion in the 1840s, as they continued to absorb the functions of formerly disparate publications. These new amalgamations, which reunited the various genres of the popular press and presented radical politics, fiction, sporting news, and reports of crime in single "family" publications, were directed by enterprising new commercial publishers--John Browne Bell, Edward Lloyd, G. W. M. Reynolds, and the founder of the Illustrated London News, Herbert Ingram.

The significant expansion experienced by the newspaper press in the first decades of the nineteenth century was made possible by technological advances in the printing industry, by improvements in transportation and communication that expedited both the gathering of news and the distribution of newspapers, and by new forms of organization in all these enterprises.

The most important development of the era was the application of steam power to the printing press, which to 1800 had remained basically unaltered since the time of Gutenberg. In 1814 The Times successfully introduced Frederick Koenig's steam-powered press and wrought a revolution in the printing industry. Subsequent improvements in the inking

apparatus and, in 1827, the addition of a number of paper-feeding stations by Augustus Applegath, pushed production in the 1830s up to 6,000 impressions an hour. Other developments in the printing industry also improved production and helped make possible the expansion of the press--and book publishing and the reading public as well. A paper-making machine which manufactured paper in larger sizes and with a surface smoother than that possible by hand production, and five times as fast, came into general use after 1820, and the cost of paper dropped by half. Stereotypes allowed printers to make more efficient use of what type fonts they possessed, but these plates, metal reproductions from a plaster of Paris cast, were brittle and short-lived; the use of papier-mâché came later. Of the printing trades, composition alone remained a hand process, not successfully mechanized until near the end of the century.

With the increasing technological complexity of the printing process, the functions of compositor and pressman, often performed by the same individual in the small printing houses of the eighteenth century, became firmly segregated. Even more striking was the specialization of functions in newspaper publication. When Dr. Johnson wrote his dictionary in 1785, he defined "editor" as "publisher"; a distinction between them did not yet exist.[6] Fifty years later, however, a whole galaxy of personnel with specialized functions was involved in the production of a London daily paper, and within certain specialties there were subspecialties as well. Weekly papers continued, by and large, to clip their news from the dailies; their staffs, by contrast, were small, and

included only an editor and sub-editor, with possibly a summary writer or two.

The publisher, or proprietor, of the dailies and weeklies was generally a capitalist seeking profit. A few may have undertaken newspaper publication from philanthropic or partisan impulses, but almost always the proprietor was a businessman who regarded his property as an investment. The Times, for example--and the best example--achieved its preeminence not through partisanship but through commercial good sense, and its organization may be seen as typical. John Walter the second, proprietor from 1803 to 1846, directed the paper's move to assert financial independence of government and set its policy of sparing no expense in applying new technology to speed the gathering, printing, and distribution of news. He cultivated the leading article department, but was more likely to be found setting type for the paper than writing for it. To see to the leading articles, he appointed an editor, Dr. Stoddart. When the difference of opinion between them on Napoleon became intolerable, he eased Stoddart out by early retirement and hired a new editor, Thomas Barnes, formerly a leader writer and parliamentary reporter. But Walter did not actively set the policy day by day; he attended to the business management of the paper. Yet proprietors were better known to the public than were editors, and theirs were the names connected with the papers in general speech.

Editors usually served anonymously, or at least their names did not appear anywhere in their papers. Most of them did not themselves write leading articles, but they set the editorial policy, within the confines

established by the proprietor, by selecting the contributors and then editing their essays. The editor's role was supervisory; it was also he who established the paper's tone and was responsible for seeing that its point of view was harmonious, unified, and in good taste. Leader writers, on the other hand, were largely anonymous free-lancers, being paid by the article rather than on salary. In the early part of the nineteenth century many eminent party men wrote leading articles for the daily press, sub rosa.

Responsibility for the news and feature contents of the paper, for everything, indeed, except leading articles, was the domain of the sub-editor; large papers had more than one. The sub-editor sifted through all the news that came in, and decided what would be published and where it would appear. He likewise read all "letters to the editor," again selecting which would be published. Though his work was at times derided as mechanical--mere "scissors and paste"--he shared with the editor responsibility for the paper's tone and respectability, and for making sure that it contained no libelous statements. He was also the final arbiter in matters of grammar and style. After calculating the amount of copy and arranging the contents of the paper, he proofread it in its entirety and worked closely with the printing foreman until the printing was completed, stopping the press as necessary to make last-minute additions.

By this time journalism itself had emerged as a profession. As newspapers grew in size and circulation, the number of staff positions likewise increased; throughout the early part of the century the tendency

was always toward consolidation in-house of all news-gathering and news-writing functions. Commentators noted that with the increased stature and responsibility of the press, authors of real ability were drawn to its service, replacing, by and large, the hack writers of earlier years. By mid-century, journalists enjoyed a professional comraderie, with their own haunts and clubs, and a minority life-style, which contemporaries called Bohemianism, that delighted in late hours, strong drink, convivality, vigorous social criticism, and habitual poverty.

The heart of the early nineteenth-century newspaper was its reporting of parliamentary proceedings. Aside from the editorship, the most prestigious position on a newspaper staff was that of parliamentary reporter--in fact, the term "reporter" referred for some time to this position alone. In the eighteenth century the reporting of parliamentary debates had been considered a violation of privilege, but before 1800 impediments had been removed, and shortly thereafter accommodations were provided for reporters in parliamentary galleries. By the 1830s members were so aware of the importance of the publication of debates to their careers that they frequently made their way to the editorial offices of major papers to correct the proofs of their speeches. The large dailies each retained ten to twenty parliamentary reporters, whose shorthand skills assured that speeches could be in type, verbatim if desirable, within hours after their delivery. A few papers also retained a "summary-writer," whose duty it was to condense and summarize the speeches of a sitting in a single article that preceded the leaders, a practice introduced by The Times in 1834. Many parliamentary reporters

were students at the bar, young men of considerable intelligence and ability who later went on to distinguished careers in politics, literature, or journalism--their ranks included Lord William H. Russell, T. P. O'Connor, and, of course, Charles Dickens. When Parliament was not in session, those reporters who were not law students usually served their papers in other capacities.

Very little of the foreign news that appeared in early nineteenth-century papers was original; it was culled from foreign journals, purchased from post-office clerks who had made a business of summarizing newspapers as they arrived from overseas, or, if the paper had appropriate connections, received from official sources. Domestic news, likewise, was excerpted or reproduced verbatim, often without acknowledgment, from provincial papers, and provincial papers, for their parts, got all their London news from the London papers. It was the sub-editor's duty, as noted, to scan a multitude of newspapers and to select items he thought important or interesting, or simply necessary to fill out a short column. Staff members under his direction wrote summary reports for regular columns on such topics as colonial affairs.

The use of "correspondents," originally regarded as more a stunt than an innovation, became general practice after 1815. Leading London papers engaged correspondents in major Continental cities to scan local journals and cultivate the friendship of officials in order to send letters back to London, daily or several times a week, containing news and commentary; such letters were signed "our own correspondent." Until mid-century the relation of these correspondents, only some of whom were

professional journalists, to their sponsoring newspaper was casual; more than likely they worked for several papers, altering their letters to conform to the predispositions of each. And some correspondents were simply prominent Englishmen who, happening to be abroad, sent their impressions to a number of papers in the hopes that they would be published. Not until after mid-century did the dailies send out permanent, full-time correspondents to foreign centers.

In the 1830s and 1840s a few papers assigned "special correspondents" to report on events, both foreign and domestic, of high interest--the coronation of Queen Victoria, for example, for which Henry Vizetelly obtained the first "press pass" known to have been granted. Charles Dickens, a parliamentary reporter on assignment as a "special" between sessions, recalled taking notes at a provincial meeting in the rain, an uncomfortable journey back to Fleet Street, and the crush of coaches there, as reporters vied with one another to be the first to deliver the report to their paper.[7] But it was not until after 1850--and particularly after the Crimean War, which saw the emergence of the "war correspondent"--that most London papers regularly engaged "specials," sending them on glamorous assignments around the globe.

The letters of correspondents were important enough to newspapers engaging them not to be trusted to the regular postal service, unreliable enough in those days in England, let alone on the Continent. Consequently, the large dailies established independent services of couriers and expresses, at great expense. The one set up by The Times was so efficient that news from the Continent frequently arrived at Printing House

Square before reaching Whitehall and Downing Street. The daily papers also had networks of reporters throughout the provinces: agents in seaports and market towns, for example, who forwarded news on shipping and commodities, agents in Oxford and Cambridge who communicated items of interest from the universities. Improvements early in the century in roads and coach connections vastly increased the speed with which special dispatches could reach editorial offices. And in the 1830s England was poised on the era of the railway and telegraph, enterprises that revolutionized news gathering and led to the beginnings, by mid-century, of independent news agencies.

Newspapers had for some decades carried notices of new productions in literature, music, and the drama. Early theater reviewing was little more than the applauding of one's friends in return for handfuls of tickets, and book reviewing too frequently the puffing of books in which the proprietor of the paper had a commercial interest. Although by the 1830s some papers had followed the independent stand asserted by Leigh Hunt in his Examiner, much early nineteenth-century newspaper reviewing is notable only for its partisanship and shallowness. It was not until after mid-century that most of the large papers had music, literature, and theater departments and hired knowledgeable writers and critics to review new productions on a regular basis. Earlier in the century reviewers were usually staff members whose major responsibilities were elsewhere--parliamentary reporters, for example, with time on their hands between sessions.

Off-season parliamentary reporters were also at times assigned to the dozen or so law courts in early nineteenth-century Britain, though

barristers practicing in these courts frequently sent in reports of the proceedings, and "specials" covered trials of great public interest. But until late in the century reports from the local police courts and coroner's inquests, as well as accounts of all miscellaneous accidents, fires, and acts of nature, were left to an energetic group of free-lancers known as "penny-a-liners." These men were habituals at the police courts or raced to the scenes of fires and accidents. They dashed off their stories on the spot, writing with a stylus on "flimsies," or black transferring paper, which enabled them to produce ten to twelve copies simultaneously. These they rushed to as many sub-editors as possible. If an account was selected for publication, the reporter would be paid, naturally, a penny a line (later in the century it was several pennies a line, but the name stuck). Because of this method of payment, and because, too, of the need to catch the sub-editor's eye, the reports of penny-a-liners were notorious for their elaboration of detail and excessive use of adjectives. They wrote, as Charles Mackay, an editor of the Illustrated London News, noted, "with a plethora of words that was always wearisome and often abominable."[8] To them can be attributed the woeful tales of dreadful conflagrations and horrible murders that infest so much of Victorian journalism. If in their luridness they seem so much alike, it is because many penny-a-liners would arrive on the scene with their stories already written, needing only to fill in the date, location, and a few names.

Thus in the first half of the nineteenth century the newspaper industry--and such it could be called--experienced rapid expansion and the

development of new, and newly professional, specialized functions. There were also significant developments in the distribution of newspapers. Distribution had long been handled by independent agents rather than by the papers themselves, and by this time the shops of news vendors were located in all London's principal streets and suburbs, and stationers, tobacconists, and fruiterers sold newspapers as well. These agents arranged for the transmittal of papers on a subscription basis to customers in town and the provinces, sold papers over the counter and hired newsboys to sell them on the street corners, and lent their papers by the hour and day. Every morning these vendors sent their newsboys to the publishing office of each paper to purchase, at a twenty-five percent discount, sufficient copies for their customers. Papers for in-town subscribers were delivered by hand, usually before nine o'clock; those for hire were dropped off and picked up at specified times, all by the tireless newsboys. The same process was repeated in the afternoon for the evening papers. From four to five o'clock there took place in the Strand, where the publishing offices of the principal papers were located, a noisy institution called the "exchange," as newsboys hustled to unload surplus papers and secure copies of others needed for provincial customers. With the wrapping and posting of these papers by six o'clock, the news vendor's daily business was completed, except on Saturday, when the shop remained open until past midnight to sell the Sunday papers and accommodate the working classes. Sunday papers were also sold at the shops of hairdressers, greengrocers, and pastrycooks.

As national tolerance for stale news shrank, agents emerged to bypass the postal service and its vagaries in the distribution of news

as they had in its collection. In the 1820s W. H. Smith and Son was established as a newspaper delivery service, guaranteeing that its special coaches would overtake the mail coaches whenever late news of importance had delayed newspaper publication beyond the time of dispatch. In addition, it employed "express carts" to catch the morning stagecoaches and assure provincial customers willing to pay the price delivery of the morning papers a full twenty-four hours in advance of papers carried by mail coaches. The company fast became the model for new enterprises in newspaper wholesale and distribution. But the innovation that would make the firm famous and send its owner to Parliament was its contracting, in the 1840s, exclusive rights to lend and sell newspapers and books in London's railway stations; within a decade its railway bookstalls and libraries were institutions.

By the end of the 1830s, then, the British newspaper and periodical press had its own advancing technology and growing commercial organization. Related developments in the craft of woodcutting were proceeding, meanwhile, to make possible the most significant, and influential, innovation of the next decade, the establishment of illustrated journalism.

It was as an illustrated newspaper that the Illustrated London News made its debut in 1842, and its innovation in illustrated journalism was its chief fame and success. But while the ILN was the first newspaper to make it a policy to use illustrations on a regular basis, it was not the first paper to provide them. Illustrations had, in fact, accompanied the publication of news from the earliest days.

Methods of reproducing illustrations with woodcuts and copper-plate engravings had been developed in Europe by the time of the invention of movable type.[9] The former is a relievo process, that is, the design, drawn on a wood plank, is left in relief while the background is cut away. The latter is an intaglio process, that is, the lines of the design, made on a copper (or, later, a steel) plate, are themselves excavated with an engraving tool, or eaten away by acid in a technique known as etching. Though more time-consuming, intaglio processes permit a better quality of reproduction than do woodcuts, for it is easier to squeeze ink into the recessed lines and wipe excess from the surface than to coat only the lines standing above the surface, making certain that no ink has slipped down into the cuts. An impression from an engraved plate stands above the surface of the paper, while that from a woodcut has been pressed into the paper, with a further besmudging of the lines.

By the early seventeenth century the printers of serious books and elegant prints used copper-plate engravings; woodcuts, which could be prepared and printed much more quickly, if not so well, were seen largely in ephemeral literature--in chapbooks, broadsheets, and fliers containing news. Broadsheets and pamphlets presenting details of recent storms, floods, fires, and murders easily lent themselves to illustration, and printers kept as standard stock wood blocks with such scenes cut on them, for use whenever called for. These illustrations were obviously not intended to be accurate, but only a representation that would catch the public eye, and so the purse. In a few instances illustrations were specially prepared. The Swedish Intelligencer, printed in London in 1632,

amplified its description of the feats of Gustavus Adolphus with a bird's-eye view of Magdeburg and a diagram of the king's passage over the river Lech. And among the many circulars, newsletters, and intelligencers appearing in England with the breakdown on press censorship in 1641, one, entitled Mercurius Civicus, London's Intelligencer, or Truth Impartially Related from thence to the Whole Kingdom to Prevent Misinformation (1643-46?), regularly presented its readers with portraits of principals of the Civil War--Charles I, his Queen, Cromwell, and Prince Rupert. But by and large woodcuts were crudely executed and very generalized. With few expectations, standards, uses, and even craftsmen, woodcutting deteriorated from the return of press censorship to the end of the eighteenth century. The illustrations that appeared in the periodicals of these years continued to be largely of monsters and supernatural occurrences. When accuracy was deemed necessary--for diagrams of battles and beseiged cities, for example, or for the splendid caricatures of the era--publishers chose the copper plate despite its slowness and expense. It did not seem to matter to the Gentleman's Magazine, for example, that three months elapsed between the obituary and the portrait.

In the late eighteenth century the art of woodcutting was revived under the influence of Thomas Bewick. As an apprentice in a small engraving shop in Newcastle, Bewick learned to execute woodcuts, probably working with the boxwood planks cut at right angles to the grain that were replacing the soft wood, usually pear, cut with the grain, that had been employed for centuries. He seems to have been the first to realize that an engraver's tool could be used on these cross-grained planks,

producing very finely detailed cuts, and he invented a graver with a thin groove at the point for this work. An artist and a keen observer of nature, Bewick illustrated Ralph Beilby's General History of Quadrupeds (1790) and History of British Birds (1797-1804), for which he drew the illustrations from life and engraved them himself. The quality and high degree of interpretation he achieved in a medium formerly considered appropriate only for "popular" art gained new recognition throughout England for woodcutting, now known as wood engraving.

The printing of Bewick's wood engravings required as much skill as their execution. To secure impressions that did justice to the carefully cut lines, Bewick had to import a special supply of very smooth, thin "China," or "India," paper, and this he pressed onto the inked blocks by hand, rubbing with an engraver's burnisher. To minimize the effects of poor presswork done by others, he described a method of lowering those sections of his blocks which should print lighter than the rest and a way of controlling the pressure at the press so that the ink would not be squeezed to the edges of the blocks, darkening them unevenly.

Bewick demonstrated that wood engraving could rival copper-plate engraving as a medium for artistic reproduction, but wood engraving was destined to be primarily a commercial rather than a fine art. By the third decade of the nineteenth century the development of new paper-making processes, inks and inking methods, and the steam press had removed the impediments to high quality reproduction of wood engravings that Bewick had faced. For publishing where cost, speed, and number of impressions mattered, the superiority of wood engravings over copper-plate

engravings, and over such newly developed forms as steel engraving, lithography, mezzotint, and aquatint, now became apparent. For not only could wood engravings, particularly after the introduction of stereotypes, endure unlimited impressions, but, with the surface to be printed standing in relief in the same fashion as the lead type itself, they could be printed on the new steam presses, and on the same page as text, whereas copper-plate engravings required a separate printing process altogether, done on separate pages. Printers with steam presses learned to reproduce the delicate shadings Bewick achieved by lowering sections of his blocks with a method of "overlays." The pressman, sometimes working in the presence of the engraver, built up pressure on those portions of the cut which required darker printing by the gradual addition of pieces of paper, cut from rough proofs of the block, to the appropriate section of the press's cylinder. Wood engravings thus provided a high quality and efficient mode of reproduction and could meet the demands for illustration engendered by the rapid expansion of education and technology. Adaptable to illustration of everything from botanical specimens, to iron founder's tools, to paintings by great masters, wood engravings were part of the cheap literature and useful knowledge movements and served the printers of encyclopedias, scientific handbooks, catalogs, technical manuals, fiction, and illustrated newspapers.

It could have been predicted that the Sunday papers would be the first to realize the popular appeal of illustration of the news. Not only were they the most innovative, speculative branch of the press at the time, but they were, as Williams observes, absorbing the functions

of street literature--the ballads, last dying speeches, and broadsheets--in which illustrations, those crude, generalized woodcuts, had long been a tradition. William Clement, the proprietor of the Observer, seems to have been prepared to illustrate events of great interest, and in 1818 his paper published a picture of St. Helena, recently selected as Napoleon's residence, and of Abraham Thornton, on trial for murder, in both instances employing copper-plate engravings and thus going to the expense of two separate printings. About 1820 Clement adopted wood engraving as the method of illustration, and for the next two decades illustrations of special events appeared in the Observer--and then were sometimes repeated in the Morning Chronicle, Bell's Life in London, and the Englishman, papers Clement also acquired. He risked prosecution for publishing, before the verdict was given, an illustration of the house in which the Cato Street conspirators met. To commemorate the coronation of George IV, Clement issued a special coronation number with four engravings; he sold 60,000 copies, at a price of 14d. each. But there was an even greater demand for the numbers illustrating the sensational crime of the decade--the murder of Mr. Weare by Thurtell. Although the paper was condemned in some quarters for its lack of taste, it found its enormous sale repeated a few years later with its illustration of the murder of Maria Marten.

In spite of all the attention accorded the illustrations in the Observer, technical difficulties in the manufacture and printing of wood engravings prevented the Sunday papers of the 1820s from taking up illustrating in earnest. In this and the next decade illustrations were

still the exception rather than the rule, a gimmick to attract new readers more than anything else. Woodcut headings came to embellish regular columns, but authentic pictures were reserved for events of great moment. The most talked-about illustrations of the decade were the series on the grisly Greenacre murder in the Weekly Chronicle, a paper founded in 1836 with the express purpose of specializing in crime. Over 130,000 copies of the paper were sold, a figure unheard of in those days.[10]

The real impetus to the use of wood engravings for commercial periodical publishing came not from the commercial newspaper press but from the benevolent utilitarians, Charles Knight and the Penny Magazine. At a time when Clement's illustration of the news went unimitated and many were still insisting that wood engravings had to be printed by hand, Knight was convinced that they could be printed by machine, and the Penny Magazine proved that wood engravers could meet the schedules demanded by weekly publication. In keeping with the purposes of his journal, Knight used illustrations to convey information, to depict the tools and processes described in the paper, and to show his readers scenes of distant lands and reproductions of portraits and masterpieces of fine art. These illustrations were at first very expensive and unrefined, but Knight's use of wood engravings provided an important stimulus to the craft. Soon the overlay method was perfected. With useful knowledge, cheap literature, and Dickens and Pickwick, and, in the early 1840s, with Punch and the Illustrated London News, demands for illustrations came from all corners, and wood engraving entered its heyday.

Charles Knight noted that in 1827 there were about twenty wood engravers in London, all of whom were artists, and paid at artists' wages. By mid-century wood engraving had become a manufacture.[11] Wood engravers themselves were considered superior artisans, and master-engravers had shops where perhaps half a dozen men--draughtsmen and engravers in addition to apprentices--were employed. The draughtsman transferred the artist's design to the wood block--in reverse, of course--and the engraver, working under magnified light and often with a watchmaker's lens on his eyes, reproduced the outlines and tone of the drawing with a variety of cutting and hatching tools. Unlike Bewick, most engravers were not themselves artists, but renderers or translators for artists, though the very fine engravers of the period--W. J. Linton, for example, or the Dalziel brothers--could be considered collaborators. It was customary for the engraver to sign his block, following his name with "sculp" or "sc," and in instances where the artist was a hack and the engraver a well-known craftsman, the engraver's name alone appeared. Artists came to accommodate themselves to the requirements of wood engraving, and some of the periodical illustrators, notably Sir John Gilbert and Charles Keene, drew directly on the wood, bypassing the engraver's draughtsman. Wood engraving was organized like other crafts, with a strict period of apprenticeship, usually seven years. But as the tools for engraving were inexpensive and portable, engravers had a flexibility and independence not enjoyed by other craftsmen associated with book and periodical publishing.

These craftsmen always worked between the pressures of publishers' deadlines and artists' temperaments and procrastinations. To achieve the speed necessary (and to make possible full-page illustrations), some time in the late 1830s or early 1840s a method was devised whereby a number of engravers could cut on the same illustration simultaneously. The boxwood planks, four or five inches square and one inch thick, were fitted on the back with brass bolts and nuts and clamped into one large block to receive the artist's design. A master-engraver cut the essential lines across the seams, and then the block was unclamped and the small blocks distributed for engraving among the men in the shop until they were completed. Within perhaps twelve hours the blocks could be clamped together again, and after some final touch-up work by the master-engraver, they were ready for the printer, or to be stereotyped. Such blocks were not likely to be masterpieces, for the work of various hands, with a variety of styles for cross-hatching, for example, was either so apparent as to be disconcerting or the whole was executed with such blandness and standardization as to be uninteresting.

Wood engraving as a trade reached its height of both utility and virtuosity in mid-century Britain. In the 1870s a photographic process for reproducing the artist's design directly on the wood eliminated the draughtsman, and within a decade the introduction of the half-tone process, whereby the design was developed on a zinc plate and then etched in an acid bath, replaced the engraver

as well. Wood engraving as a trade disappeared, and the craft itself survives in the twentieth century only as an art form.

The 1840s are known as a decade of troubles. These were the years of famine in Ireland, cholera in England, riots in the manufacturing districts, and revolutions in Europe, years of the Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law agitation. Yet these were years of tremendous expansion, too. Experiment and speculation were the order of the day, and both successes and failures were lavish. Railway lines criss-crossed the island in a few short years, and fortunes were made and lost overnight in the fantastic "railway mania." The telegraph, ether, and gas lighting were developments of the decade; so, too, were trade unionism, penny postage, "animal magnetism," the triumph of free trade, early theories of evolution, and the Oxford Movement. There is a tremendous exuberance about the decade that is seen clearly in its literature. Dickens's popular works, Thackeray's Vanity Fair, and the Brontës' strange tales established the novel as the dominant form of the era. Literature appeared in new varieties--the comic weekly paper, the professional journal--and in new places, for the penny dreadfuls printed in Salisbury Square now came easily to the hands of kitchen maids and pastrycooks. With so much news, with so many people reading, with the amelioration of government restrictions, with technological advances behind and just ahead, it was indeed a propitious time to start a newspaper, and a very good time to experiment with what had not been tried before--the systematic illustration of the news.

When the experiment came, however, it came from an unexpected quarter. For the world's first illustrated newspaper was founded not by William Clement or Charles Knight or Edward Lloyd or any one of a number of other London publishers who were known for their bold speculations. Nor was it the enterprise of a wood engraver.

The Illustrated London News was founded by a provincial printer and newsagent named Herbert Ingram. Ingram had been born in 1811 in Boston, Lincolnshire, a town of about 11,000 that served as the market for the fen and marsh farmers who tilled the flat, coastal plain known in England as Holland.[12] His family was poor, but evidently of ancient lineage; legend had it that they were once the owners of the local Swineshead Abbey estate. Ingram's father died when he was very young, and he was educated in charity schools--first at Laughton's "Free School" and then at the Boston Public School. In 1825 he was apprenticed to Joseph Clarke, a printer in the Market Place, Boston. At the expiration of his apprenticeship he went to London, where he worked for two years as a journeyman printer. In 1833 or 1834 he moved to Nottingham and, with Nathaniel Cooke, who had married his sister, he set up a business as a printer, bookseller, and newsagent.

Only a few facts are known about Ingram's activities in this period. His industry and determination were already apparent, however, as he is said to have walked four miles each way every Saturday to deliver a single paper, and on one occasion he traveled to London and back in the early morning hours to secure papers for his customers in advance of the morning post. No doubt, like most provincial

printers, Ingram printed a great variety of flyers, advertisements, almanacs, sermons, tracts, and pamphlets for customers that included tradesmen, writers, benevolent societies, and clergymen. He is probably the "Mr. Ingram of Nottingham" who wrote to the Chartist Midland Counties Delegate Meeting "desiring to be the printer of the Midland Counties Protector newspaper." One would like to know more, but, unfortunately, "the meeting decided the question could not be entertained."[13]

Again like many provincial printers and stationers, Ingram and Cooke sold patent medicines in their shop and were agents for the well-known Morrison's Pills until a financial dispute resulted in severed ties. Deciding that there was profit to be made in the patent medicine business, the partners purchased from T. Roberts, a druggist in Manchester,[14] the recipe for a laxative which they advertised as Parr's Life Pills. These vegetable pills, they claimed, were compounded from a recipe of one of the descendants of the legendary Thomas Parr, who had lived to be 152, and were the secret of "Old Parr's" longevity. They wrote to Henry Vizetelly, a London printer and wood engraver, requesting various cuts of Old Parr, made to their specification, which were to be used in advertisements. Public demand for Parr's Life Pills was brisk, and the proprietors soon realized a substantial profit.

One additional fact of significance is known about Ingram's Nottingham years--he determined to found an illustrated newspaper. No doubt he noticed that the occasional inclusion of an illustration in a weekly paper would increase its sale enormously--would not a paper that contained illustrations every week, that made it a policy to illustrate

the news of the day, find an eager audience, and make for a wealthy proprietor? Ingram had observed, too, that his Nottingham customers, wanting information on national or international events, asked simply for the "London News"; a good name for the paper would be the "London News," the "Illustrated London News." Some said that it was, in particular, the overwhelming demand for the issue of the Weekly Chronicle illustrating the sensational Greenacre murder that determined Ingram to found an illustrated newspaper, and that he had experimented with picture journalism by printing a broadsheet entitled "The Life, Death, and Horrible Crimes of Thomas Greenacre, the Camberwell Murderer," illustrated not with authentic pictures but with stock blocks supplied by a local engraver.

With a capital of about £1,000 and a well-established trade in Parr's Life Pills, the firm of Ingram and Cooke removed to London in 1840 and set up business at Crane Court, Fleet Street, where, Vizetelly remembered, "piles of cases four feet long filled with many thousand small boxes of pills ordinarily blocked up the passage."[15] To advertise their pills, the partners published Old Moore's Almanack.

But the enterprise that now had hold of Ingram was his idea of an illustrated newspaper. To implement his scheme, he got in touch with Frederick Marriott, the proprietor of the Weekly Chronicle. Unfortunately, there is very little that can be known about these days of planning for the first issue. Ingram's "multifarious papers and correspondence are believed to have been destroyed,"[16] and accounts from contemporaries are few, sometimes contradictory, and all compiled from

memories some fifty years after the fact.[17] The most detailed information comes from Henry Vizetelly, who recalled being approached by Marriott for assistance in procuring drawings for a new publication. The financier of the project, Vizetelly was surprised to learn, was Herbert Ingram, "whom I already knew perfectly well." The three met at Fleet Street's famous Old Cock Tavern for an evening of steaks, porter, and "a bottle of old crusted port."

> Ingram unfolded his scheme, which proved to be simply an illustrated criminal record on the lines of the Greenacre numbers of the "Weekly Chronicle," some hundred and thirty thousand copies of which had been circulated, and vast quantities sold by Ingram in his news-agent's shop at Nottingham. He admitted that a good murder was not to be hoped for every week or even every month, still there were police cases, and Old Bailey, and assize trials, as well as factory riots, rick-burnings, coining, sacrilege, horse-stealing, and the like, the engravings of some of which subjects, he maintained, could easily enough be prepared in advance. This was the original sorry conception of the now world-famous "Illustrated London News."

Vizetelly explains that Ingram's idea opened his mind to the vast possibilities of illustrated journalism, and he urged Ingram not to make criminal news his primary focus. Vizetelly offered to draft a prospectus for Ingram's consideration. The next day Ingram and Marriott arrived at Vizetelly's apartments in Salisbury Square. In his prospectus Vizetelly

> made a great point of the Afghan and Chinese wars in which we were then engaged, and of the many "telling" subjects these would furnish to the engraver. I referred to the scenes of state ceremonial, the important political gatherings--the agitation against the corn laws was then at its height--and the crowd of general public events, including every class of popular amusement, which were equally susceptible of illustration; and pointed out the facilities which the recent discovery of daguerreotype gave for the publication of portraits of political and other celebrities.

Ingram was convinced, Vizetelly records, by this proposal, and one million copies of the prospectus were printed.[18]

The new weekly journal was announced for March 1842.

> Entitled the Illustrated London News, Price Sixpence. Containing Thirty Engravings Every Week of the Most Interesting Events of the Day, in Addition to Forty-Eight Columns of News. Engagements have been made with Artists of Ability in Every Important Town in England and in Paris and other places on the Continent.

Subscribers for six months were promised a free gift--a "splendid Colosseum Print of London."[19]

Vizetelly also records that it was he who introduced Ingram to the man who would be the paper's first editor, F. W. N. Bayley, who was known as "Alphabet" Bayley for his many initials. Bayley was a facile rhymester, the author of Comic Nursery Tales, erstwhile editor of the expired National Omnibus--he was sometimes also called "Omnibus" Bayley--and an improvident friend of the Vizetellys.

> Proprietor and prospective editor eyed each other inquisitively. In the short, negligently dressed and ungainly-looking individual with a big head, Bayley failed to recognise the capitalist of his imagination, and Ingram, on his part, seemed staggered by the first sight of his expectant editor, whose shabby-genteel appearance rendered Ingram somewhat suspicious of him. Bayley was attired as usual in his seedy dress suit, but he was well brushed up and clean shaven, and his snake-like ringlets glistened with Rowland's "incomparable oil macassar."

Bayley's ready jokes soon dispelled Ingram's hesitation, however, and Bayley, Ingram, and Marriott left for dinner. Though the day was chilly, Bayley darted through the crowds on Fleet Street and made his way to the river, pretending to be in desperate need of fresh air, but in actuality dodging his creditors, from whom he was in constant danger

of arrest. A boat ride up the river, accompanied by numerous trips to the bar below deck, landed the trio at the Star and Garter, where Bayley proceeded to order an expensive dinner and to engage his patrons for fully half a day. Ingram had not more than a half crown left upon paying the bill, and Bayley was successful in talking him out of even this, and hiring a fly to carry him home, while Ingram and Marriott trudged all the way from Richmond, arriving at their doorsteps at daybreak. Nevertheless, Bayley was engaged as editor, and was associated with the Illustrated London News for several years.[20]

Evidently arrangements for the new paper did not proceed as quickly as the proprietor had hoped, for the first issue did not appear in March. When Buckingham Palace announced that the Queen would hold a fancy-dress ball on May 12, the first issue was rescheduled to coincide with this event, for illustrations of a royal costume party would no doubt be very interesting to the public and a most appropriate subject for an illustrated paper. Ingram visited a young artist, John Gilbert, at his home in Blackheath, and engaged him to do the drawings.[21] Supplied with snippets from The Times and the Morning Post that gave detailed descriptions of the costumes selected by various guests, Gilbert made his drawings of the event directly on the boxwood planks that Ingram sent him. Ingram also commissioned Alfred Henry Forrester, better known by his pen name, Alfred Crowquill, to prepare some small humorous cuts and jokes. Crowquill had contributed humorous articles, which he illustrated himself, to periodicals for years, and most recently to the newly founded Punch.[22] The engraving was done in Vizetelly's

shop; the well-known pictorial heading--the view from the river of St. Paul's Cathedral and the Lord Mayor's procession of State barges--which would grace the ILN's first page for years, was prepared in the firm of Stephen Sly.[23]

A few days before the first issue was scheduled to appear word was received of a great fire in Hamburg, which raged for days and destroyed a considerable portion of the city. One of Vizetelly's assistants drew a view of the city from an old print found in the British Museum, adding great clouds of smoke in the sky. This illustration was selected for the front page.[24]

The new illustrated paper appeared, at last, as rescheduled, on May 14, 1842. It consisted of sixteen folio pages, of three columns each, a format that remained essentially the same for decades. The leader, entitled "Our Address," was, Vizetelly tells us, Bayley's florid rewording of the prospectus. Bayley recounted the recent progress of the "illustrative art," its contribution to useful knowledge and comic literature, and hailed, now, its marriage to literature in the Illustrated London News. "Whatever the broad and palpable delineations of wood engraving can be taught to achieve, will now be brought to bear upon every subject which attracts the attention of mankind"--politics, the world of diplomacy, the pleasures of the people, "their theatres, their concerts, their galas, their races, and their fairs"; "the pleasures of the aristocracy--their court festivals, their bals masques, their levees, their drawing-rooms"; literature; the fine arts.

> Here we make our bow, determined to pursue our great experiment with boldness; to associate with a purity of tone that may secure and hold fast for our journal the fearless patronage of families; to seek in all things to uphold the great cause of public morality; to keep continually before the eye of the world a living and moving panorama of all its actions and influences; and to withhold from society no point that its literature can furnish or its art adorn, so long as the genius of that literature, and the spirit of that art, can be brought within the reach and compass of the Editors of the Illustrated London News!

The illustration of the Hamburg fire, together with a brief account of its rampant destruction, also appeared on page one. Inside there were seventeen additional wood engravings, thirty altogether if one counted the small headings that introduced various columns and the view of St. Paul's as well. Of chief interest were, of course, Gilbert's eight drawings of Her Majesty's costume ball, which included a portrait of the Queen as Queen Philippa and the Prince as Edward III--a string of pearls resting on top of his head, for Gilbert had envisioned the "coronal of pearls" described in the daily papers as a necklace rather than a tiara. A wood engraving of "some town in Italy or France" accompanied an account of a railway accident between Paris and Versailles.[25] Views of Cabul and Ghuznee embellished reports of fighting in Afghanistan.

The letterpress, printed in closely packed columns of small type, included all those features which had come to be the standard fare of British newspapers by the fourth decade of the nineteenth century: columns on Parliament, foreign intelligence, law intelligence, sporting news, the money market, the London Gazette, "Court and Haut Ton," "Births, Marriages, Deaths." Editorials disavowed affiliation with any

political party and attacked the recently imposed income tax. In the "Literature" column appeared reviews of England in the Nineteenth Century, The Ladies' Companion to the Flower Garden, and Edwy. The "Fine Arts" column included comments on current exhibitions at the Royal Academy, but without illustration. Homespun verses were aired in "Everybody's Column." Excerpts of newsworthy items from other papers filled space everywhere. A humorous touch was provided by two "advertisements"--one from "a professional gentleman" seeking matrimony with a suitable lady who knows that "manners--not money, make the man. Address, with portrait (miniature set in gold, pearls, or other precious stones, not refused), A. Donis Slim, Esq., 320 Strand."

On the day of publication Ingram sent several hundred men through London's streets, carrying sandwich boards proclaiming "the advent of this important publication."[26] Vizetelly remembered that "news-agents had provided themselves with a good supply, and on the afternoon of publication troops of city men on their way home westward were to be seen with copies of the paper, eagerly scanning its engravings as they walked along." The first issue created great interest. Over 26,000 copies were sold and still the demand was not met; in the next two months it was reprinted three times.[27] Ingram's efforts over the past months were amply rewarded, and the era of illustrated journalism had begun.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. The standard sources for the history of British journalism are Alexander Andrews, The History of British Journalism, From the Foundation of the Newspaper Press in England to the Repeal of the Stamp Act in 1855, With Sketches of Press Celebrities (1859; rpt. 2 vols. in 1, New York: Haskell House, 1968); H. R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism (1887; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966); James Grant, The Newspaper Press (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1871-72); Frederick Knight Hunt, The Fourth Estate: Contributions towards a History of Newspapers, And of the Liberty of the Press (London: David Bogue, 1850); Stanley Morison, The English Newspaper: Some Account of the Physical Development of Journals Printed in London between 1622 and the Present Day (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932); and J. S. R. Phillips, "The Growth of Journalism," in The Cambridge History of English Literature, ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, XIV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916), 184-225. The survey of the development of British newspapers that follows is taken from these and other sources, all cited in the bibliography. Aside from Morison, there is no twentieth-century scholarly study encompassing the history of the British press, but excellent summaries, which I also found very useful, are Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), especially chs. 14 and 15; Arthur Aspinall, Politics and the Press, c. 1780-1850 (1949; rpt. New York: Harper & Row, 1974); H. A. Innis, "The English Press in the Nineteenth Century: An Economic Approach," University of Toronto Quarterly, 15 (1945), 37-53; E. E. Kellett, "The Press," in Early Victorian England, 1830-1865, ed. G. M. Young (1934; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1951), II, 3-97; R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848: Literacy and Social Tension (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1955); and Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), especially pt. 2, ch. 3.
2. On the Sunday papers, in addition to the standard sources cited in note 1, especially Morison, English Newspaper, ch. 13, see Richard D. Altick, Victorian Studies in Scarlet: Murders and Manners in the Age of Victoria (New York: Norton, 1970), pp. 55-66; Harold Hobson, Phillip Knightly, and Leonard Russell, The Pearl of Days: An Intimate Memoir of the Sunday Times, 1822-1972 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972), pp. 1-63; Richard Hoggart, ed., Your Sunday Paper (London: University of London Press, 1967), especially the contribution by Raymond Williams, "General Profile," pp. 13-29; [Gibbons Merle], "Weekly Newspapers," Westminster Review, 10 (Apr. 1829), 466-80; and [Max Schlesinger], Saunterings In and About London, trans. O. Wenckstern (London: N. Cooke, 1853), pp. 207-10.
3. Williams, Long Revolution, p. 192; see also pp. 175-76, 191; and see Altick, Victorian Studies in Scarlet, p. 55; and Robert Collison,

The Story of Street Literature: Forerunner of the Popular Press (London: Dent, 1973), pp. 9-10.

4. See William Wickwar, The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press, 1819-1832 (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1928), pp. 51-52; Williams, Long Revolution, p. 187.
5. Charles Knight, Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century, With a Prelude of Early Reminiscences (1864; rpt. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), II, 183.
6. Cited by Sir Leslie Stephen, "The Evolution of Editors," National Review, 26 (Feb. 1896), 770.
7. Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, Masters of English Journalism: A Study of Personal Forces (1911; rpt. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1970), pp. 223-24; Henry Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner, 1893), I, 154-57; Thomas Archer, The Highway of Letters and Its Echoes of Famous Footsteps (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1893), pp. 482-83.
8. Charles Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections of Life, Literature, and Public Affairs: From 1830 to 1870 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), I, 148.
9. A convenient history of wood engraving is Kenneth Lindley, The Woodblock Engravers (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970). An excellent study of the quality and impact of wood engraving and other modes of visual reproduction is William M. Ivins, Jr., Prints and Visual Communication (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953). A complete history of illustrations in British newspapers is Mason Jackson, The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress (1885; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1969); see, too, Clement K. Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," Contemporary Review, 75 (Apr. 1899), 481-94; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Rise," Magazine of Art, 12 (Jan., Feb., Mar. 1889), 104-08, 141-44, 173-76; and Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," Magazine of Art, 13 (July, Aug., Sept. 1890), 297-301, 334-40, 391-96. Information on wood engraving is also found in Henry Blackburn, The Art of Illustration, rev. J. S. Eland (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1901); and W. J. Gordon, "The Newspaper Printing Press of To-Day," Leisure Hour, 39 (Feb., Mar. 1890), 263-68, 333-37, and in other sources cited in the bibliography, especially the memoirs of wood engravers who practiced the craft in its heyday--the Dalziel brothers, Edmund Evans, W. J. Linton, and Henry Vizetelly--and the biographies of Charles Keene by George Somes Layard and of John Leech by Frederic George Kitton.
10. For a description of the Greenacre numbers of the Weekly Chronicle, which are thought by some to have influenced Ingram's decision to found an illustrated newspaper, see Altick, Victorian Studies in Scarlet, p. 60; and C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 298.
11. Charles Knight, The Old Printer and the Modern Press (London: J. Murray, 1854), p. 244.
12. For a description of early nineteenth-century Boston, see Arthur A. Adrian, Mark Lemon: First Editor of Punch (London: Oxford University

Press, 1966), p. 12. Information on Ingram's early life that follows is from Peter Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," ILN, 13 May 1967, pp. 40-41; [G]eorge [C]lement [B]oase, "Ingram, Herbert," Dictionary of National Biography (ca. 1885) (hereafter DNB); Alan Bott, "Three Generations of the Illustrated London News, ILN, 30 Apr. 1932, p. 676; "A Great Centenary: The Story of the Illustrated London News, First Published on Saturday, May 14, in the Year 1842," ILN, 16 May 1942, p. 572; Jabez Hogg, "Reminiscences of the Late Herbert Ingram, Founder of the Illustrated London News," ILN, summer number 1892, pp. i-iii; Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 284, 306-08; Charles Mackay, Through the Long Day; or, Memorials of a Literary Life during Half a Century (London: W. H. Allen, 1887), I, 352-53; Clement K. Shorter, C.K.S.: An Autobiography, ed. J. M. Bulloch (N.p.: privately printed, 1927), pp. 64-66; [Shorter], "The Founding of the Illustrated, May 14th, 1842: A Chapter in the History of Journalism," ILN, 14 May 1892, pp. 579-82; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," pp. 298-300. Bourne, English Newspapers, II, 118-19, and Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 352, claim Ingram was a compositor. Having served as an apprentice in a small printing shop, and later owning a printing shop, he was no doubt a practiced compositor as well as a printer.

13. Northern Star, 27 Apr. 1839, p. 5. I am indebted for this reference to Thomas Milton Kemnitz of Barrington, New Hampshire.
14. So says the DNB. W. J. Linton reports that it was Dr. Snaith, of Boston. Threescore and Ten Years, 1820 to 1890: Recollections (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), p. 57.
15. Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 221.
16. Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," p. 485n.
17. These accounts include Hogg, "Reminiscences," pp. i-iv; Lady Ingram-Watkin and Sir John Gilbert, "Letters from Lady Ingram-Watkin and Sir John Gilbert, R.A." ILN, summer number 1892, p. vi; M. H. Spielmann, "Art Journalism--Then and Now," ILN, summer number 1892, pp. x-xv [Spielmann was not a contemporary, but a historian of Punch and knowledgeable about illustrated journalism]; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, ch. 12. Information on the founding and early years of the ILN that appears in later anniversary issues (see the articles cited in note 12, and others) is taken from the 1892 anniversary issue and the summer number. Much of the information in Shorter's account of the founding of the ILN, which appeared anonymously in the 1892 anniversary issue, is taken from Vizetelly, though before the latter's memoirs were actually published. W. H. Smith, "The Early Days of the Illustrated London News," introd. to Panorama, 1842-1865: The World of the Early Victorians as Seen through the Eyes of the Illustrated London News, comp. Leonard De Vries (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), pp. 9-12, contains information which I have not found elsewhere. Smith joined the staff of the ILN in 1897 and was subsequently head of the journal's art department. His information may come from informal knowledge about the paper's early days, or from the paper's archives, about which I have been unable

to learn much aside from the fact that they contain the wood blocks used in the first issue of the ILN as well as blocks from the Graphic, the Sketch, and the Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News. For the latter, see Christopher Hibbert, The Illustrated London News: Social History of Victorian Britain (London: Angus & Robertson, 1975), p. 7; and "The Illustrated London News and Posterity: Our 1842 Issue," ILN, 30 Apr. 1932, p. 673. My inquiries about the existence of early records were unanswered. Inquiries of the Boston Public Library and the Lincolnshire Archives office for Ingram papers and family records located only a trust deed for a family settlement, 1845. There is some information on the journal's early years to be found in the memoirs of various contemporaries of Ingram and early contributors to the journal; these will be cited as needed. The four sources listed at the beginning of this note, together with Shorter's anonymous account of the founding of the paper in the anniversary issue for 1892; Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," pp. 485-86; and Shorter, C.K.S., pp. 63-65, tell of a controversy over Ingram's original conception of his illustrated paper, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3. The controversy is also mentioned in David Williamson, "How We Keep Shop: The Working of a Great Newspaper--The Illustrated London News," Minster, 2 (Aug. 1895), 185; and J. C. Woollan, "Men of Mark: Sir William James Ingram, Bart.," Caxton Magazine, 3 (July 1902), 129.

18. Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 222-26.
19. The text of the prospectus is quoted in W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 9.
20. Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 227-31, the quotation is on p. 227. For more on Bayley, also sometimes spelled "Bailey," see ibid., 211-18; and chapter 2.
21. Gilbert recalled that Ingram visited him personally. Ingram-Watkin and Gilbert, "Letters," p. vi; Gilbert, quoted in [Shorter], "The Founding of the Illustrated," p. 582. But Vizetelly claims that it was he who engaged Gilbert. Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 231-32. Part of the problem with Vizetelly's account of the founding of the ILN is that he takes the credit for practically everything--for steering Ingram away from a focus on crime, for introducing him to Bayley and Gilbert. It is significant that no other nineteenth-century account of the paper's founding mentions Vizetelly's participation, though I don't doubt he was associated with the paper in its early days. For more on Gilbert, see chapter 2.
22. Joseph Pennell, "The Making of Illustration: The Art of the Last Fifty Years," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 584; M. H. Spielmann, The History of Punch (1895; rpt. New York: Greenwood, 1969), p. 15; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 301. For more on Crowquill, see chapters 2 and 5.
23. Edmund Evans, The Reminiscences of Edmund Evans, ed. and introd. Ruari McLean (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 10; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; Vizetelly,

Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 234n. For more on Sly, see chapter 2.

24. The story of the preparation of the Hamburg illustration is found not only in Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 233-34, but also in Spielmann, "Art Journalism," pp. xi-xii; and C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," pp. 299-300. It seems to have been one of those stories generally accepted in the trade.
25. Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 232; Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 286.
26. An illustration of the sandwich-board men appears on page 16 of the journal's first issue. See also Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xi; and C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 301.
27. Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 291; ILN, 10 Sept. 1842, p. 278; W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 10; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 237.

Chapter 2

Managing an Illustrated Newspaper

Charles Knight didn't think an illustrated newspaper possible.

> In 1842, having occasion to be in attendance at the Central Criminal Court, my curiosity was excited by an unusual spectacle--that of an artist, seated amongst the city dignitaries on the bench, diligently employed in sketching two Lascars on their trial for a capital offence. What was there so remarkable in the case, in the persons, or even in the costume, of the accused, that they should be made the subject of a picture? The mystery was soon explained to me. "The Illustrated London News" had been announced for publication on the Saturday of the week in which I saw the wretched foreigners standing at the bar. I knew something about hurrying on wood-engravers for "The Penny Magazine;" but a Newspaper was an essentially different affair. How, I thought, could artists and journalists so work concurrently that the news and the appropriate illustrations should both be fresh? How could such things be managed with any approach to fidelity of representation, unless all the essential characteristics of a newspaper were sacrificed in the attempt to render it pictorial? I fancied that this rash experiment would be a failure. It proved to be such a success as could only be ensured by resolute and persevering struggles against natural difficulties.[1]

Knight knew a great deal, perhaps more than anyone in England at the time, about the problems of coordinating the schedules of writers, artists, engravers, and printers in the production of a weekly periodical--difficult enough for periodicals like the Penny Magazine where currency was not a factor, impossible, he and others thought, for a newspaper.[2] What Knight and others did not know--yet--was the determination and ability of the provincial printer and newsagent who founded the Illustrated London News, Herbert Ingram.

Of those who came to know Herbert Ingram, or to know of him--and almost everyone did, for within fifteen years this provincial printer

had become a noted proprietor, publisher, and member of Parliament--nearly all commented on his remarkable business ability. Clement Shorter, the editor of the Illustrated London News at the end of the century, described Ingram as "a very clever man, full of enterprise and inventiveness." Another late-century observer assessed him as "one of the most affable and keenest of business men, an organiser of indomitable energy and remarkable enterprise." Mason Jackson, who was associated with the paper from its first decade and was art-editor in the 1860s, remarked that "his practical knowledge as a printer and newsagent were of infinite value in organising and conducting the varied details of newspaper business. He was ever on the watch, and made opportunities where other men would have been indifferent or inactive." He

> probably did not at first realize all the difficulties that lay in his way, but as fast as they appeared he met them with characteristic courage and energy, and overcame them by perseverance. He seized on every opportunity to consolidate the strength of the paper, and paid a great amount of personal attention to its management, often denying himself sleep one or two nights a-week. As the profits increased he kept on increasing the scope and number of its attractive features. He made it a rule to spare no expense in every department of the journal; whatever money could command for its success he resolved to have. After a time he was able to act on this wise resolve to the fullest extent, and in the end he achieved a great success.[3]

Despite the doubts of Knight and others, the Illustrated London News flourished from the very beginning.[4] According to Jabez Hogg, a friend and associate of Ingram's from this period, "It at once proved a success, and from that day forward the work of the paper has been carried on without a single hitch of any importance, wanting neither artistic talent, the aid of the engraver, nor an appreciative public."[5] Circulation dropped

off with the second number, as was to be expected, but it seems to have climbed gradually throughout 1842, reaching 66,000 during the Christmas season.[6] The issues appeared regularly, and both the letterpress and the illustrations showed steady improvement; many new features were added. After mid-year, subscribers did not necessarily have to count the small column headings to find the thirty engravings the proprietor had promised, and cuts over one column wide became the rule rather than the exception. In September 1842 Ingram leased the "extensive premises" at 198, Strand, to house his operation. Here ample room was available for editorial and business offices, an in-house wood-engraving department, the retention of permanent artists and a literary staff, and, as presses did not yet fold printed sheets in a single printing and folding operation, a "folding-room."[7] Within a very few months the journal had clearly passed through the precarious period experienced by every new publication.

The time was right for establishing an illustrated newspaper, but the journal's good fortune was not, in the end, good fortune at all, but the result of a great deal of hard work by a very talented and resourceful man of business. In founding the world's first illustrated newspaper, Ingram had to do a great many things that had never been done before. He had to develop methods for procuring news illustrations; he had to secure the services and coordinate the schedules of a large corps of artists and engravers, and editors and writers; he had to establish new routines, even design new machinery, for the rapid engraving and printing of illustrations; he had to distribute and promote the new

paper--in effect, he had to create a market for an illustrated newspaper. Ingram directed this pioneering venture so successfully that, in the end, he was able to build a publishing empire out of illustrated journalism. How he achieved his success, how he put together the world's first illustrated newspaper, is the subject of this chapter.

Ingram's most difficult problem, as Knight and others knew, was to secure and prepare illustrations for printing quickly enough that they might have some currency. Not all the illustrations that appeared in the Illustrated London News were "news" illustrations, however. Perhaps half were reproductions of paintings on exhibit, illustrations taken from books under review, pictures representing the change of seasons, humorous sketches, and, in the paper's first year or so, illustrated column headings. Such illustrations, sometimes referred to as being "of the magazine class," could be prepared in advance, and at the leisured pace to which artists and engravers had long been accustomed. But the other half of the journal's illustrations were of news events. For these illustrations, which came to be called "actuality" drawings, currency was of the essence.[8] Having no models for securing and preparing these, Ingram had to develop his own methods.

We have seen what techniques Ingram resorted to for illustrating the first issue of his new paper. Writing fifty years later, Vizetelly ridiculed the paper for "hoodwinking" the public, pointing to Bayley's claim in the opening address that the artist's pencil was "oracular with the spirit of truth," while not a single engraving in the issue derived from

an authentic source. But M. H. Spielmann, writing about the same time, was more sensitive to the expectations of the paper's early Victorian readers. "Although the illustration of news was the raison d'être of the new paper, the full significance of the expression was hardly understood in those days either by proprietor or public. 'As it might have been' was the motto: 'As it was' not yet being reached."[9] In 1842 that the paper had illustrations at all was its novelty; the pictures in and of themselves created the sensation. No matter that the illustration of the fire in Hamburg was merely the addition of clouds of smoke to an old print, that the railway accident near Paris was accompanied by a view of "some town in Italy or France," that the costumes at the Queen's ball were of Gilbert's fabrication, with the help of descriptions from the dailies. What readers in 1842 found exciting about the new paper was its "pictorial representation"--a phrase much used at the time--of events. It was not in the experience of early Victorians to expect or demand the sort of authenticity or accuracy that Vizetelly in 1892, with "process" blocks and half-tone reproductions, knew. Before the founding of the ILN there were, as Michael Wolff and Celina Fox point out, "no precedents for authenticity beyond a certain level of topographical accuracy or circumstantial description."[10] Yet our expectations of authenticity and the technical means for achieving it are themselves the creation of the Illustrated London News and the illustrated press.

Many of the illustrations in the ILN's first years were prepared by what came to be technically known as "faking."[11] In the manner of the illustrations of the Queen's ball, scenes of announced public

ceremonies and social events were drawn in advance, on the lines of details provided in the morning papers. Vizetelly recalled that practically every day messengers from the ILN office delivered clippings from the morning papers, together with boxwood planks, to Gilbert's home in Blackheath. They strolled on the heath for an hour or so, and returned to find the drawing completed directly on the boxwood, and ready to be taken back to 198, Strand, for engraving.[12] This method was resorted to even late in the decade. Gilbert drew a great many of the ILN's illustrations of the French Revolution, for example, from his home in Blackheath. And when the ILN's artist was refused permission to attend the Royal Academy banquet in 1849, the engraving of the principal guests in their places at the table once again had to be constructed from the report in The Times and Gilbert's "ready pencil." The result was sent to W. M. Thackeray, who had been in attendance, for verification.[13] Such undertakings had their risks, however. Mason Jackson records an incident in which the Pictorial Times, a rival of the ILN, learned that the Queen and Prince Albert, on a trip to Scotland, were going to "see the shearing." The editors presented their readers with a pastoral scene of shepherds shearing their sheep, not realizing, until afterwards in embarrassment, that "shearing" in Scotland means "cutting the corn."[14]

Scenes of events in far-off foreign lands, of the wars in China and Afghanistan, for example, were sometimes taken from the illustrated travel literature of the period. Vizetelly recalled that many publishers, John Murray in particular, refused the ILN permission to reproduce pictures from their illustrated books, fearing that the new paper would undercut

sales. An article in the last issue for 1842, however, acknowledges the kindness of publishers who "in every instance . . . have met our requests"--Murray, Blackwood, Knight, Ackermann, Graves, Baily, and others--and testifies to the care the new paper had taken to develop good relations with the established book publishers of London.[15] It seems to have been the usual practice to acknowledge such contributions. For sketches of Spain in 1845, for example, the proprietors were obliged to Mr. Ford's Handbook of Spain; for views of the Punjaub and Sikh country, offered to readers during outbreaks in India in early 1846, the debt was to the "spirited Sketches" in Mr. G. T. Vigne's Travels in Kashmir, Ladeck, Iskarde and A Personal Visit to Ghuznee, Kabul, and Affghanistan.[16]

Finally, it is likely, in the early years at least, that scenes of explosions, fires, riots, and the like were at times constructed purely out of the imaginations of the artists--for, Spielmann proposed a justification, "does not one riotous crowd resemble another, and are not flames and smoke nineteen-twentieths of a good fire picture?"[17]

Although Ingram knew from the outset that some of the illustrations, as he told Vizetelly, would have to be prepared in advance, he was also determined to find or develop the means for procuring drawings of immediacy and authenticity, and his success can be measured by comparing the pictures of royal balls presented throughout the 1840s. In May 1842, as we have seen, Gilbert fabricated the costumes from descriptions provided in advance of the event by the daily press. Three years later, when the Queen held another costume ball, the illustrations in the ILN were "executed as carefully as possible from drawings minutely made

from the respective costumes, so that their characteristic accuracy may be relied on." The apartments were not completed until just before the dance began, and

> any attempt to depict a splendid scene within twelve hours of its enactment, must prove a misrepresentation, and totally at variance with the system of illustration adopted in this journal. Accordingly, in our next week's Number, we shall complete our record by all that a combination of artistical accuracy and picturesque effect can accomplish.

In another three years the illustrations of the Queen's State Ball were prepared by artists who were themselves in attendance.

> We have, upon several occasions of state and ceremony, presented to our readers Illustrations of the interior splendour of Buckingham Palace. But, in no instance have our Artists possessed opportunities for insuring accuracy such as they have been honoured with for their present object--to convey an adequate idea of the superb decoration, as well as the brilliant effect of the company at a State Ball. For this facility, the proprietors of the Illustrated London News are deeply indebted to the condescension of Her Majesty the Queen, who has most graciously been pleased to permit their Artists to enjoy the privilege of access to the State Rooms, as well as to Witness the State Ball of Wednesday last--for the purpose of making the Drawings requisite for the accompanying pair of Illustrations.[18]

The men who were present at the Queen's ball in order to prepare accurate illustrations of the event for the Illustrated London News belonged to a new class of newspaper correspondent called into existence by Ingram's enterprise--the special artist. The world's first special artist was Ebenezer Landells, a London artist and engraver. When the Queen and Prince Consort left London for their first visit to Scotland, late in the summer of 1842, Landells suggested to Ingram that an artist be dispatched to follow the royal progress, and he decided to undertake the commission himself. He sent sketches back to his engraving firm in

London, where they were carefully redrawn on the wood blocks. The illustrations of triumphal arches and points of interest in Scotland that graced the September and October issues of the ILN had much to do with the journal's growing popularity, and when the Queen, in November of that year, paid a royal visit to Walmer Castle, Landells was again dispatched to sketch the interesting proceedings.[19]

From this point on, artists commissioned by the ILN could be observed with their sketchbooks at events of public interest throughout the kingdom and abroad, and, increasingly, they received official permission to attend public ceremonies and occasions of state. The Queen was evidently pleased with Landells's work. She purchased his original drawings of her Highland tour and asked him to make for her a watercolor of the Falls of the Trummell. When, the following year, she went to France to meet Louis Philippe, Landells was permitted aboard the royal yacht "for the purpose of accurately sketching the most attractive 'passages' of Her Majesty's visit."[20]

The success of the special artist had much to do with the cooperation of officials and public figures who, with the advent of the Illustrated London News, had to adjust to a public viewing of their public and private lives to an extent heretofore unimagined. Not all were as gracious as Queen Victoria. The second Duke of Wellington was extremely annoyed when the ILN published a picture representing the death of his father in 1852. Charles Mackay, the editor of the journal at the time, recorded an angry interview.

> Such a thing was formerly unheard of--and is an outrage. How would you like a picture to be made of the death of

> your father. . . . I don't like it; and besides, such a thing was never done before. . . . And I cannot, for that reason, give your artist permission to make sketches in Apsley House. If I did, the public would be sure to know of the fact--the public knows everything now-a-days--and, knowing that I gave your artist permission to make sketches in Apsley House, it would think I gave him permission to make a sketch of the death of my father.[21]

Special artists had, of course, to make their sketches with great speed. Sometimes they prepared the background scenery of an event in advance, or, indeed, after visiting the place where it would occur, chanced drawing the event itself--any details that would prove incorrect could quickly be altered afterwards. "Specials" also devised methods of "pictorial shorthand," suggesting whole scenes by a few strokes of the pencil. These sketches were then redrawn in leisure by the artist himself, or fleshed out by a draughtsman at the journal's headquarters. Speed was of utmost importance, and special artists used whatever means they could to achieve it.[22]

When Ingram took the premises at 198, Strand, he announced that the journal would retain "permanent artists upon the establishment; ready at a moment's notice for the contingencies of every public event." For special events, however, and illustrations of the magazine class, he continued to employ out-of-doors some of the finest artists of the day--their names will be discussed shortly. He also used to good advantage the voluntary contributions sent to the journal's headquarters from artists and amateur sketchers all over the world. In the journal's first issue the editors had invited "communications, and sketches for illustration, from our literary and artistic friends generally, pledging ourselves to afford every attention to their wishes, compatible with the

interests of our paper and the instruction and amusement of our readers." The public responded, and perhaps a quarter of the news illustrations in any one issue for the 1840s were selected from the submissions of volunteer artists. In August 1844, for example, the journal published "glimpses of the costumes of the Moors of Morocco, which are replete with picturesqueness and graceful variety," "from the sketch-book of an artist who has recently visited this very interesting country." Pictures of the colonization of New Zealand, interesting to readers during the proposed reorganization of the colonial office, were "by a Correspondent in high official position at New Zealand," and by one S. C. Brees, who was in that country from 1841 to 1845. The scenes of colonial wars that crowd the pages of the ILN in the 1840s were invariably the contributions of volunteers--"from Sketches by a distinguished Traveller," for example, or "by the kindness of several correspondents"--for the journal's special artists were not as yet dispatched much farther than France and Germany, though the time would come, later in the century, when they would be sent to the remotest corners of the globe. By 1852 the editors could boast that

> our friends have so increased in every quarter of the globe, that we receive sketches of scenery and of events, of men and of manners, by every mail and packet that reaches our shores. Into whatever regions Englishmen penetrate . . . the Illustrated London News, we are proud to say, possesses correspondents ready both with the pen and the pencil to narrate and to depict the events of which they are the witnesses.[23]

Prince Albert himself was on one occasion a volunteer contributor, for he graciously permitted his sketches of his homeland to be printed in the ILN during the royal visit to Germany in 1845. Identification of

less illustrious sketchers, however, frequently did not accompany the illustrations themselves and was likely to appear, if at all, in the ubiquitous "To Correspondents" column. Here "C. H. W.," for example, was rather casually thanked "for two of the sketches engraved in our paper last week."[24] The sketches themselves were probably captioned "from a correspondent," and one can't help but wonder how frequently those three words were used to suggest an authentic source for a drawing that was made at 198, Strand.[25] Yet there is a ring of truth about the explanations in the "To Correspondents" column that the illness of an artist or confusion in a particular commission has prevented the appearance of proposed illustrations,[26] and it seems likely that the journal's volunteer artists were almost as authentic and ubiquitous as its editors claimed.

The contributions of these volunteer artists at times caused embarrassment. On a number of occasions it was discovered, too late, that the so-called original drawings were nothing more than copies of prints from published books. In 1848 Captain McQuhae's drawing of a sea serpent sighted from the quarterdeck of H.M.S. Daedulus sparked a controversy over the existence of such a creature with a Mr. Oxen, professor of comparative anatomy. Yet an editorial in 1846 made public the paper's general gratitude for the contributions of volunteer artists:

> In this season of acknowledgments, we cannot suffer the Old Year to depart, without recording an open and direct expression of our gratitude for the extensive and still increasing support we have received throughout that period. Our publication has called a new class of newspaper correspondents into existence--the contributors of sketches of interesting places and events. For the many free-will

> offerings of this kind we feel most grateful. These sketches, made at the moment and on the spot, enable us to "illustrate" the "news" of the day with extreme fidelity; and we beg those who have so frequently furnished us with them, to accept our thanks for them; we need not add that a continuation of their efforts, should occasion suggest them, will be most welcome. We first address those contributors who are resident within the kingdom; but we are still more bound to acknowledge the voluntary offerings which have been forwarded to us from the most distant parts of the world. From "China to Peru," there is not a climate or region of the earth, from which we have not received these useful and cheering contributions. Their utility is obvious: they are cheering, inasmuch as they prove the widely-spread interest excited by our enterprise--for in the great majority of cases, the contributors were wholly unknown to us. We have thus received sketches of strange scenery, of strange people and costumes, of events on flood and field, and of incidents of battle and wreck, which, without the aid of the pencil and sketch-book employed on the spot, would have left no graven record after them. Often have these sketches exhibited great artistic excellence; but it may encourage some, timid, perhaps, from the consciousness of not having reached a certain point of ability, that perfect finish we do not require; the faithful sketch, not the elaborated picture, is what is wanted. Fidelity, exactness, and authenticity of detail, are the great essentials. It is always pleasing to receive these favours, and those to whom we owe them may rest assured they are both appreciated and remembered.[27]

In addition to calling forth the special and volunteer artist to provide his paper with illustrations of news events, Ingram was very interested in the possibility that recent developments in photography would supply him with the means he needed for the fast and accurate reproduction of illustrations. Vizetelly claimed to have suggested to him the facility that daguerreotypes might afford in the publication of portraits, but Ingram's interest in photography predates his contact with Vizetelly. In 1840, shortly after the firm of Ingram and Cooke had moved to London, Ingram was approached by Dr. Jabez Hogg about the publication of a little book he had written on the art of photography.

Subsequently the two had a number of conversations on the new discoveries of Fox Talbot and Daguerre, and Hogg explained the details of Daguerre's process, which Ingram thought he might be able to put to use for the illustrated paper he was then projecting. In anticipation of "process" blocks, Ingram speculated that Daguerre's method of developing a print on a plate with a silvered surface might be used on a prepared surface of wood, and he asked Hogg to experiment along these lines. After many trials, Hogg's efforts proved a failure.[28]

Ingram continued to feel, however, that photography could be most useful for his purposes. The Colosseum Print of London, presented to subscribers to the ILN at the end of 1842, was made from a series of daguerreotypes of the city taken from the Duke of York's Column by Antoine François Claudet, a well-known London photographer who was specially commissioned for the project. The prints, however, had to be incorporated into one large drawing and then copied onto the boxwood planks for engraving and printing in the usual manner.[29] Throughout the 1840s a fair number of illustrations in the ILN were made from daguerreotypes and tablotypes, redrawn and engraved in a similar way.[30] But experiments in photographic shortcuts continued. In 1851 Scott Archer published his collodion process, and the very "photographic" look of some of the ILN's engravings of exhibitions at the Crystal Palace suggests that it may have been used to transfer a photographic image of the artist's drawing onto the boxwood. More certain is an event that took place nine years later. In 1860 the ILN printed a picture of a bas-relief from a book of hymns by developing a photographic negative directly on the surface

of a boxwood plank that had been treated with a light-sensitive coating. This method made it possible, for the first time, to bypass the work of the engraver's draughtsman--the plank, of course, still had to be engraved in the usual manner--but it seems not to have been very convenient and as late as 1879 was used only occasionally.[31] The regular use of "process" blocks and half-tone reproduction was, of course, far beyond Ingram's time, but the leadership of the ILN in these developments is a testimony to his continued efforts at devising methods for the quick and accurate reproduction of illustrations.

It is clear that standards of authenticity for illustrations in the ILN were raised--verbally, at least--throughout the journal's first decade. But the whole matter of authenticity--literal and technical--was a problem for the ILN and remains so for students of illustrated periodicals. In the first place, the notion that a great many of the journal's illustrations were "faked," or "made up somewhere in the Strand," seems to have been widespread among contemporaries, even though they may not have been so put off by the practice as we in the twentieth-century might suppose. Mitchell's Newspaper Press Dictionary, an annual guide to advertisers, noted with intended irony: "The rapidity with which any event, especially if associated with spectacle of any sort, is 'illustrated' in this paper, is deserving of notice in an age of earnest competition for priority. Its artists appear endowed with ubiquity, though perhaps their name is 'Legion.'" The journal's methods were also the subject of humor--in Dickens's Bleak House, for example, where the special artist appears on the scene after Krook's death by spontaneous combustion.

> Then, there comes the artist of a picture newspaper, with a foreground and figures ready drawn for anything, from a wreck on the Cornish coast to a review in Hyde Park, or a meeting in Manchester,--and in Mrs. Perkins's own room, memorable evermore, he then and there throws in upon the block, Mr. Krook's house, as large as life; in fact considerably larger, making a very Temple of it. Similarly, being permitted to look in at the door of the fatal chamber, he depicts that apartment as three-quarters of a mile long, by fifty yards high.

And in Punch, under a heading "Looking into the Middle of Next Week," the ILN's illustrations of the French Revolution were, with a good deal of truth, said to be manufactured in London: "and . . . orders are doubtlessly given to the artist to get up a great revolution immediately, with plenty of barricades in it, so that they may be inserted as wanted."[32] The journal seems to have been peculiarly sensitive to this sort of criticism, and its printed rebuttals show a firmness, and even at times a shrillness that itself undercuts their veracity. Doubters are always invited to 198, Strand, to view the original drawings and sketches for themselves--how this would assure authenticity isn't explained.[33]

To forestall such charges of "faking," the ILN constantly affirmed that its illustrations were "accurate," "faithful," and "authentic." And it was perhaps overzealous in identifying its sources for illustrations of shipwrecks, railway accidents, and events of a similar nature. These are accompanied by explanations such as "Our artist derived the details for his sketch from one of the crew of the Petrel"; "This catastrophe (sketched by an artist of Charleston, for our journal). . ."; and

> We are happy to announce that Lieutenant Rooke, the only officer, and one of the four survivors of the wreck of the Avenger, has arrived in London. Lieutenant Rooke has kindly favoured us with sketches prepared by himself, illustrating some of the interesting incidents of this melancholy catastrophe.

The illustrations of the wreck of the steamer Sirius in 1847 must have raised some questions, for the second week of sketches are accompanied by a testimony from a reporter for the Cork Examiner: "On a promontory adjoining, which commanded a fine view of the place . . . I observed Mr. James Mahony, the artist of the Illustrated London News, busily engaged in making sketches; and, having been favored with a view of them, I can testify to their extraordinary fidelity."[34]

Despite such affirmations, we simply cannot accept the drawings in nineteenth-century illustrated papers as the faithful portrayals they pretended to be. In the first place, too many, by the testimony of early staff members themselves, were "faked" or prepared by means of the many shortcuts described here. Second, even when an illustration was actually sketched on the scene by a special artist, we must remember that, unless the artist drew directly on the boxwood in the first place--Dickens's depiction aside, highly unlikely--what we see in the paper is at best a sixth-hand version of the event itself. Many modifications, intentional and unintentional, took place as the special artist's rapid sketch or the amateur's voluntary contribution was redrawn at the journal's headquarters by a staff artist, transferred to the boxwood by an engraver's draughtsman, engraved (perhaps by a number of engravers working simultaneously), given tone at the press by the overlay method, and finally printed.[35] Finally, as Wolff and Fox point out, the artists of the illustrated papers were confined by the conventions of illustrations: traditions of caricature and the topographical print and the long habit of not drawing from nature limited both the choice of subject matter

suitable for illustration and the style of execution.[36] Twentieth-century scholars simply cannot expect the Illustrated London News, or any illustrated newspaper of the nineteenth century, to present, at face value, the panorama of the life of the times that the ILN took as its purpose. Problems with the authenticity and representativeness of the illustrations must always be kept in mind; yet they must not be allowed to detract from Ingram's achievement in producing the world's first illustrated newspaper. Had he waited to begin his enterprise until the technical means for achieving "photographic" accuracy were at hand, he would have remained a Nottingham printer, and the development of those techniques would not have come within his lifetime.

Ingram, who seems to have had a particular talent for "knowing a man," as Clement Shorter put it, was able to attract to his enterprise the ablest artists of his day--artists in black and white, as such illustrators were called, whose talents he shaped to the needs of an illustrated newspaper. "No combination of art and literary talent," remarked Shorter, "could have been more imposing than that which he brought together."[37]

Foremost among the artists Ingram employed from the very beginning was John Gilbert, later Sir John Gilbert, R.A., who was a young man of only twenty-five when Ingram first visited him at Blackheath and asked him to draw for his new illustrated paper. Like many of his contemporaries, Gilbert thought Ingram's scheme impractical, but he agreed to participate, and, in the end, was instrumental in the journal's success.

Gilbert's sense of design and dexterity in execution were precisely what was needed. As Mason Jackson explained, "His wonderful facility and bold picturesqueness were exactly suited to the requirements of an illustrated newspaper. The first enabled him to do his work with marvellous quickness, and the second was an excellent counterpoise to the damaging effects of hurried engraving and rapid printing." M. H. Spielmann made a similar point: even in 1842 Gilbert showed the

> brilliant promise of that marvellous freedom of draughtsmanship and fertility of invention, that unusual power of giving life to his figures, his unsurpassed knowledge of, or instinct for, composition, and his apparently natural gift for drawing in such a way as to produce most effect, while causing the least difficulty to the engraver and the printer--from whom rapidity of execution, even more than artistic excellence, has always of necessity been exacted.

Gilbert worked amazingly fast: he completed a dozen elaborate drawings of the French Revolution in two or three days and prepared a full-page picture of the Balaclava charge in just over an hour. He always drew directly on the boxwood; when he drew a two-page illustration of the Prince of Wales's marriage in 1863, the blocks were separated for engraving as fast as he finished with them, and he never saw his drawing in its entirety. Yet his work did not suffer for his speed. As a late-century commentator noted, the face of the Prince Consort in Gilbert's illustration of the Duke of Wellington's funeral can be covered with a three-penny piece, "but the features are traced exactly, and are immediately recognisable." Gilbert began in 1842 an association with the Illustrated London News that would last for decades. Over the years he produced the staple of the journal's actuality drawings as well as a good number of its seasonal embellishments and other magazine-class pictures. On

occasion, up to two-thirds of the illustrations in any one issue were his, and it was estimated that, all told, he made more than thirty thousand drawings for the ILN.[38]

Another artist whose services Ingram had from the beginning was the versatile Alfred Crowquill, who, as already mentioned, had been hired to prepare the small, humorous cuts and illustrations of police court cases that appeared throughout the journal's first year. Crowquill's association with the ILN continued on through the 1840s; he was a frequent contributor to Christmas numbers, and he usually prepared sketches of the pantomimes that delighted Victorians at this season of the year. Crowquill seems to have been called upon, in fact, whenever a touch of humor was wanted: the satire of the "Railway Mania" in 1845, for example, was his contribution.[39]

With the second number, as we have also seen, Ingram had the assistance of Ebenezer Landells. Landells was an artist and engraver who had been a pupil of Bewick and was one of the founders and original proprietors of Punch, but that journal's precarious finances in its early months convinced him to sell his share. He was still engraving for Punch, however, when the first issue of the Illustrated London News appeared. Shortly there developed hard feelings among Punch's founders and early contributors--Douglas Jerrold lambasted Landells as "that engraving Jonah"--and relations were severed. But Landells continued to work for the ILN for many years, traveling throughout the kingdom and Northern Europe as required by the Queen's progresses and other occasions. His son, Robert Landells, was also a special artist for the ILN.[40]

Stephen Sly was an artist, head of an engraving firm, and a kind of middleman who helped Ingram procure illustrations. He served the Illustrated London News from its beginning until 1846, when a financial dispute between him and the journal's proprietors was finally taken to court. Henry Anelay, a protégé of Sly, also worked for the journal from its first issue on, serving primarily as an engraver's draughtsman. He incorporated Claudet's daguerreotypes of London into one large drawing for the Colosseum Print.[41] Constantin Guys, who would in time become best known for his delineations of life in France during the Second Empire, was invited by Ingram to assist in the ILN's pictorial department, and so began another long association. In 1848 Guys was dispatched to Paris to make rapid sketches of the revolution, and he also served as one of the journal's special artists during the Crimean War. The sketches he sent back to the office were often fleshed out and blown up onto wood blocks by another well-known French artist, Gavarni.[42]

A Mr. Hancock drew the journal's first picture of the Derby winner in 1842.[43] W. H. Prior, an assistant to William Harvey who specialized in landscape and architecture, was another early contributor; his son, Melton Prior, would later in the century be a well-known war correspondent and artist for the ILN.[44] Other artists who served the journal in its first year include Archibald S. Henning, the son of the sculptor, who, like Crowquill and Gilbert also drew for Punch; T. H. Jones, whose contributions were chiefly portraiture and theatrical scenes; William Dickes; and G. F. Sargent, who redrew Anelay's drawing of London on the boxwood for the Colosseum Print.[45]

The Christmas number for 1842 contained some drawings by Kenny Meadows. Meadows was a clever artist and caricaturist whose character sketches and genre scenes enjoyed a great vogue. He had been the illustrator for Heads of the People (1839), a series of character heads for which the letterpress was written by Douglas Jerrold, R. H. Horne, Laman Blanchard, W. M. Thackeray, and Charles Dickens. He was an original contributor to Punch, and was long associated with that journal. For the ILN he did seasonal drawings throughout the 1840s, and was invariably a contributor to the journal's Christmas and special literary and artistic supplements, and he illustrated some of its serialized fiction. With Thomas Miller he prepared a series of character studies called "Characters about Town." His "Dram Drinker," a drawing of a child reaching up to a gin bar, was telling and has often been reprinted.[46]

The advent of Meadows in the ILN is significant. Apart from the drawing by Gilbert and Landells and the sketches by Crowquill, most of the illustrations appearing in the journal's first volume are small, stilted, even crude--"of an inferior character," as Jackson put it. The artistic staff on the journal during this period was small: Vizetelly estimated it at only five for the first few months, and Spielmann calculated that the drawings, with engraving, in the journal's first issue could have cost no more than £60. Many artists were unaccustomed to drawing directly on boxwood and to the bold and rapid style required by newspaper illustration--the very style in which Gilbert excelled--and felt, at first, that making illustrations for newspapers was decidedly beneath their professional dignity.[47]

But through his association with Landells and Vizetelly, Ingram was put in contact with a great many of London's best artists, illustrators, and engravers, all of whom seem to have known each other through their professional work and many of whom were close personal friends; with the periodical writers and journalists they formed a network that constituted the London subculture depicted in Thackeray's Pendennis. By the end of 1842 Ingram had a reputation among them. He had made clear his commitment to securing the very finest illustrations for the new paper. Over the months the size, number, and quality of the ILN's illustrations had shown considerable improvement--Spielmann computed weekly costs now at £85. The paper had its own art department, and Ingram stood ready to pay his contributors liberally. The journal described itself as circulating largely among the "influential classes," and it had a circulation greater than any weekly in the kingdom.[48] Artists who may have previously scorned to draw for a newspaper now saw the ILN as an appropriate vehicle for their work. When, the following May, one year of publication was celebrated with a special anniversary number, William Harvey was one of the contributors.

William Harvey was the doyen of artists in black and white. He had been Bewick's favorite pupil, then went on to study drawing and painting with Benjamin Haydon, the painter, and anatomy with Sir Charles Bell. A highly gifted artist, he soon had an enviable reputation as a distinguished draughtsman and illustrator of books. His illustrations for the publications of Charles Knight did much to popularize black-and-white work, and young artists like Gilbert, Meadows, and Cruikshank held him as their

model. He had prepared some illustrations for the Observer in the 1820s and he was an occasional contributor to Punch, but his style was, as Jackson noted, not so suited as Gilbert's to the illustration of current events. Yet he adapted well to the requirements of the Illustrated London News, and after the journal's first year was a frequent contributor of seasonal illustrations and artistic features. He did not do any actuality drawings, but there is scarcely a Christmas, anniversary, or literary number that does not bear his name.[49]

Meadows, Gilbert, Crowquill, and no doubt Landells, brought with them to the pages of the Illustrated London News many of the artists who were intimately connected with Punch in its first decade. Like Meadows and Harvey, these artists did not do actuality drawings but contributed magazine-class illustrations--large cuts featured in and of themselves, of Easter Monday amusements, May garlands, Derby Day, autumn harvests, jolly firesides, and Christmas festivities. The humor and social commentary found in these artists' Punch drawings are notably subdued in their contributions to the ILN. Among them was H. G. Hine, who, a few months after the founding of Punch, became a contributor of first importance. For several years he was Punch's "chief stock-artist," though he had by profession been a landscape painter and had no previous experience in drawing on wood. He later gave up comic draughtsmanship and returned to watercolor landscapes, for which he was well known. He was a frequent contributor to the ILN's first volume and a regular for many years.[50] Another was the gentle and melancholy John Leech, best known for his character portrayals that were, said Henry Silver, a

Punch colleague, "comical without ever being coarse, . . . funny without painting deformity." Thackeray noted the same quality, affirming that Leech surveyed society "from the gentleman's point of view." Leech's first drawing for the ILN preceded Meadows's; throughout the paper's first decade or so his contributions were, said Charles Mackay, "like angels' visits, 'far between,' but always welcome when they came." Yet his name lent stature to newspaper illustration. One biographer has commented, "Newspaper art was an utter novelty, and he gave to that novelty the dignity, the grace, and the nameless attraction of genius."[51] Toward the end of the 1840s the ILN also had the services of Richard ("Dickie") Doyle, known, said Spielmann, for his "charm and sweetness, his inexhaustible fun and humour, his delightful though superficial realisation of character, and his keen sense of the grotesque." Doyle, who had prepared the famous border for the cover of Punch, severed his connections with that journal over its blatant anti-Catholicism just about the time that his first drawings appeared in the ILN.[52]

Other artists in black and white who contributed to the ILN the same kinds of illustrations as these Punch artists include, most prominently, Hablôt K. Browne. Browne, called "Phiz," was best known as one of Dickens's illustrators; he did occasional drawings for the Christmas numbers of the ILN. Thomas Landseer, an artist and engraver who was the elder brother of Sir Edwin and Charles Landseer, had been a contributor to the Penny Magazine and was associated with the ILN during its early years.[53] Edward Duncan, who began his career as an engraver, was also a contributor to the ILN in its first decade; his specialties were

landscapes and seascapes. During the mid-1840s he prepared the illustrations for a series of "Agricultural Pictures" depicting the seasonal occupations of rural England, and in 1847 he did the drawings of Stratford-on-Avon for the journal's special Shakespeare number.[54] Then there was Harrison Weir, an occasional Punch contributor, whose illustrations appeared in the ILN throughout the 1840s. An artist and naturalist, Weir specialized in drawings of animals, birds, and fruit. They were, recalled Mackay, "correct, spirited, and always natural."[55]

Birket Foster was a pupil in Landells's engraving firm when the first issue of the ILN appeared. It was he who transferred onto the boxwood planks Landells's sketches of the Queen's Highland tour. But as an engraver Foster was slow to learn, and Landells encouraged him to take up drawing, in which he excelled. For practice he copied birds from Bewick's British Birds, illustrations by Harvey, and many initial letters which his fellow apprentice and good friend Edmund Evans engraved--these Landells supplied to Punch and the ILN. While still an apprentice in the early 1840s Foster made a number of drawings for Punch. Upon the completion of his apprenticeship, he was commissioned to do magazine-class illustrations for the ILN. He specialized in rural landscape drawings, of "shepherds and milkmaids, the reapers and threshers, . . . haymaking and harvest-home," but he was capable of depicting many subjects with "freshness, truth, variety, and grace," a compliment that comes, surprisingly, from Vizetelly. For such work he spent much time in the country, in which he delighted. In 1849 Foster and Evans, whose apprenticeship was now also completed, had the happy thought that a series on

"Watering Places of England" might be of interest to the ILN's readers. The proprietors agreed, particularly as "the present convulsions of European politics" made them increasingly the refuge of royalty, and the series might also help guide "the wandering steps of those who pursue health, pleasure, and recreation." And so Foster and Evans took "very many delightful journals to obtain the sketches." Foster afterwards gave up black-and-white work and turned exclusively to the watercolor landscapes that brought him great popularity.[56]

Foster, with the Punch artists and the others mentioned above, contributed illustrations of the magazine class to the ILN. A great number of the journal's actuality drawings were done by Gilbert, but no matter how facile his pencil, he could not have managed all of them. His work was supplemented by the illustrations of the following artists, most of them not so well known as the Punch group.

Samuel Read and Charles Keene were young men when they came from Ipswich to London to see if they could make their way as artists. The drawings they volunteered to the ILN were accepted for publication. Read, who excelled in architectural illustration, joined the journal's staff as artist and designer in 1844 and was connected with the ILN until the end of his life. Eventually he became head of the journal's art department. He was the special artist on the Danube and the Black Sea in anticipation of the outbreak of the Crimean War, and, like many of the ILN's artists, was a member of the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours.[57]

His friend Charles Keene lived a much more irregular life. In the 1840s he took an attic in the Strand for his studio and lived, according

to Spielmann, "as all good Bohemians should, chiefly on art, song, and smoke: an existence sweetened by a few warm but eclectic friendships." Through Read, Keene fell into a routine of illustrating for the ILN. But actuality drawing had little appeal for him, and, a shy man, he did not enjoy attending dances, political meetings, ministerial receptions, soirées, and the like, for the purpose of making sketches of the room and company. At length he gave up doing news illustration and contributed only to the Christmas numbers and on special occasions. In 1851 his association with Punch began; afterwards he was one of its regular artists. In spite of his long association with London periodicals, however, he never quite adjusted his style to the needs of periodical publication, and his drawings, even the humorous illustrations of middle- and lower-middle-class life for which he is best known, suffered in the printing.[58]

George H. Thomas seems to have found actuality drawing for the ILN more to his taste than did Charles Keene. A specialist in naval and military scenes, he shared with Gilbert the drawing of the journal's pictures of the French Revolution, and in 1849 he sent sketches of the French siege in Rome to the ILN's office. His drawings, contemporaries agreed, rivaled Gilbert's for their spirit, vigor, and "power of delineating modern life," as Mackay put it. He was also an illustrator of books, and he painted historical pictures commissioned by the Queen.[59]

Other artists during the ILN's first decade include J. W. Archer, an artist who specialized in relics of antiquity; T. Beech, who copied paintings; J. W. Carmichael, the marine painter who served as a special artist during the Crimean War; Henry-Sulpice Chevalier, or "Gavarni,"

a French illustrator who is best known for his cynical sketches of Parisian life and who, in London at the time of the French Revolution, prepared some of the ILN's illustrations of that event; J. R. Clayton, an architect and architectural draughtsman who did many drawings for the journal and for Ingram's auxiliary publications in the early 1850s; Sir Joseph Crowe, both artist and journalist, who did sketches of the Crimean War; the "weird, mysterious, gloomy" G. H. Dodgson, who had studied civil engineering with George Stephenson and as early as 1846 served the ILN as an architectural draughtsman and landscape artist; G. H. Harrison, a medical illustrator and watercolor landscape painter who had studied with Constable and for the ILN made drawings of festivities, like those at Buckingham Palace; J. F. Herring, the fashionable portrait painter of race horses who was sent to the Derby, St. Leger, and other celebrated races to sketch the winners; Louis Huart, an able Belgian artist, who, under Mackay, relieved Gilbert of some of the journal's actuality drawing; James Mahony, an Irish artist who frequently recorded the starvation and deprivation of his homeland; Noel Paton, a student at the Royal Academy who assisted Landells in illustrating the Burns Festival in 1844; John Phillip, the scene and portrait painter who specialized in Scottish subjects; Watts Phillips, better known as a novelist and dramatist, but who, like Crowquill, also designed, wrote, and illustrated humorous articles; W. B. Scott, who ranked with Harvey and Meadows as foremost among black-and-white men of the day; Thomas Sulman, who had an "unrivalled faculty for mapping out large towns" and prepared the views of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Liverpool that were offered to

subscribers as special supplements; F. W. Topham, an engraver and watercolor painter who specialized in studies of Irish and Welsh peasant life; Edwin Weedon, who was knowledgeable on nautical affairs and "had no equal in taking the portraits of ships"; Edward Henry Wehnert, a watercolor painter who specialized in historical characters and was also a successful designer of book illustrations; Joseph Lionel Williams, who executed the ILN's series on the "New House of Lords" and whose name figures prominently throughout the late 1840s; and T. Harrington Wilson, who made sketches of the Great Exhibition for the journal and was a specialist in theatrical portraiture.[60]

When one remembers that, in addition to all these artists, and many of lesser fame,[61] there were scores of volunteer artists contributing to the journal during its first decade as well, it is clear that Ingram set up and managed an operation of substantial proportions. His enterprise helped to make a profession of news illustration in a very important way. The Illustrated London News encouraged artists to draw what had not been regularly drawn before, in styles that had not been fully developed before, for purposes unheard of before. But this was only the beginning. After Ingram's time, but before the end of the nineteenth century, the journal's art department was a world unto itself, with a maze of specialties and subdivisions. There was, first of all, the special artist; then there was the marine artist, the portraitist, the landscapist, the ceremonial man, the horse and animal draughtsman, the story illustrator, the military specialist, the "character" artist, the ethnographical and geographical expert, the architectural draughtsman, the parliamentary man, the rustic man, the sporting artist, the comic illustrator. This

was the home staff. Beyond 198, Strand, there were representatives in major cities throughout the world, and artists traveling with Her Majesty's navy and with various army regiments. Finally there were still the amateur sketchers, "on the look-out for news," and painters willing to have their works engraved. No wonder the journal could boast of "the power of the art editor to illustrate nearly every event and every object of exceptional public interest and passing importance in the civilised world."[62]

Securing illustrations and the artists to make them were only a part of the difficulties Ingram had to surmount in establishing the world's first illustrated newspaper. He also had to prepare the illustrations with great speed for printing, and this depended on his being able to find wood engravers willing to be hurried. Such demands had not previously been made of them. Jabez Hogg noted the "paucity of wood-engravers ready to engage in a work of the kind, and on short notice." And Mason Jackson detailed the pace at which engravers worked just a few years before the founding of the ILN:

> When Whittingham, the well-known printer, wanted a new cut for his "Chiswick Press" series, he would write to Harvey and John Thompson, the engraver, appointing a meeting at Chiswick, when printer, designer, and engraver, talked over the matter with as much deliberation as if they were about to produce a costly national monument, and after they had settled all points over a snug supper, the result of their labours was the production, months afterwards, of a small woodcut measuring perhaps two inches by three.[63]

Ingram was fortunate, however, in locating young engravers in London willing to take part in his experiment, perhaps even finding it exciting,

as did Henry Vizetelly. In addition to Vizetelly and Sly, Ingram very early had, as we have seen, the assistance of Ebenezer Landells. With the cooperation of these men, and the engraving shops they directed, the success of Ingram's venture was secured, and the Illustrated London News soon set a new pace and procedure for the emerging trade of wood engraving.

Ingram leased the premises at 198, Strand, in part to make provision for an in-house wood-engraving department. A large room was set aside for the use of a Mr. Williamson and his staff of assistants, who saw to the routine engraving--of actuality drawings, column logos, and so forth--required by the journal.[64] Two assistants in the ILN's wood-engraving department learned enough about the procedures and management of an illustrated journal to found one of their own. When George Stiff, who at one time directed the ILN's engravers, was dismissed for incompetence, he founded an opposition paper, the Illustrated Weekly Times, out of revenge. This failed, for want of capital, in a few weeks, but he subsequently, in 1845, founded the successful London Journal, with G. W. M. Reynolds as its first editor. Harry Carter left the Illustrated London News in 1848. He later emigrated to the United States, where, as "Frank Leslie," he established the well-known Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper on the model of the ILN.[65]

Large cuts and work requiring fine detail rather than speed alone--the seasonal drawings by Punch artists, for example, and the reproductions of paintings by the old masters--continued to be sent out-of-doors, in time to the best engraving firms in London. Landells had, from the first,

a major share of the ILN's engraving work, and he enlarged his staff to accommodate it. Through Landells Ingram had the services, for many years, of Edmund Evans, an apprentice at the time of the journal's founding, later best known for his pioneering work in color printing. Landells also introduced Ingram to the Dalziel brothers--George, Edward, and John--and so, with the journal's second number, began another long association. The Dalziels would be best known after mid-century, when they engraved some of the finest illustrated books published in Britain.[66]

Drawings for the ILN were also, in the early years, engraved by F. Smyth and Pearson.[67] Mason Jackson's name first appears in the late 1840s. Jackson was the younger brother and pupil of John Jackson, who, with William A. Chatto, wrote the classic history of wood engraving in 1839. Mason Jackson was an excellent engraver, known for his work for Charles Knight, William Harvey, and the Art Union of London. After Ingram's death he joined the staff of the ILN as art editor, and later he was the first, and only, historian of the illustrated press.[68]

The finest reproductions could still, of course, be achieved with copper-plate engraving, and a permanent copper plate of the journal's front-page heading was prepared by the Paris firm of Best, Leloir. The sheets for the paper were no doubt printed with this emblem far in advance, and used as needed. Best, Leloir also engraved a single sheet of copper--the largest ever--for the view of Paris presented to subscribers in 1848.[69] After 1843, however, the journal achieved a quality of reproduction rivaling copper-plate engraving through its association with the firm of Smith and Linton. John Orrin Smith was a well-known engraver

who had studied with William Harvey and was closely connected with the Punch crowd. He had some experience with newspapers, for he had prepared a picture for the Observer of Queen Victoria's marriage in 1840. In 1842, W. J. Linton joined his firm as joint proprietor. Linton was an active Chartist leader, a writer, an editor, and an artist, as well as perhaps the finest British engraver of the period. The firm of Smith and Linton did some routine engraving for the ILN, of news illustrations and portraits, for example, but it excelled in engraving art-pieces by Harvey, Meadows, Duncan, and other artists, pictures by old masters and Royal Academy exhibitors, and the large view of Edinburgh presented to subscribers in 1848. According to Linton's biographer, the work of Smith and Linton "gave the paper that lush pictorial vivacity which still makes the early volumes fascinating. Contemporaries agreed that their work [Smith died in 1843] contributed greatly to the paper's success." Linton's support of the French Provisional Government in 1848 severed his connection with the ILN. And about the same time Ingram either enlarged his in-house wood-engraving department or established an engraving firm exclusively for his own use, hiring away so many of Smith and Linton's employees that the firm broke up. Linton moved with his family to the Lake District, but continued to do occasional engraving for the ILN. He later emigrated to the United States, where he taught wood engraving at New York's Cooper Institute and worked for Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.[70]

After mid-century the ILN made much use of the engraving firm of William L. Thomas, the younger brother of the staff artist, George H.

Thomas. William Thomas studied wood engraving with Linton, then joined his brother in Rome where he attended the French Academy in that city. By 1850 he had returned to London, and his establishment was soon one of the largest in the city. After the premature death of his brother, in 1868, Thomas and other relatives planned a memorial volume of his work. They applied to the proprietors of the ILN for the loan of some of George Thomas's pictures, but the request was politely refused on grounds of policy and technical difficulties. William Thomas felt the refusal unreasonable, and, in anger he determined to found an illustrated newspaper to rival the ILN. He consulted with Nathaniel Cooke, once Ingram's partner, now long retired, and many leading artists and writers of the day. The result was the Graphic, begun in 1869, the first really successful rival to the ILN.[71]

Ingram was proud that Britain's master wood engravers were closely identified with his journal. And it is a testimony to his abilities that he was, from almost the very beginning, able to command their services, for the kind of work the ILN required was, as Arthur Bryant has put it, "a revolution in the process of engraving upon wood."[72] Ingram forced his engravers, in-house and out-of-doors, to proceed with great speed, and his journal was an important influence in making what had formerly been a craft into a trade. His engravers worked hard, and always worked overtime. The ILN, Evans remembered, "generally required night work"; "I was totally unfit for work for a day or two after the drives of getting the blocks in to time." Then, too, engraving for newspaper illustration required a bolder style than many engravers had

been trained to. Evans, having set out on his own when his apprenticeship to Landells was served, was told by Nathaniel Cooke that he could not engrave quite well enough for the ILN. "The fact was," noted Evans, "I engraved the blocks too fine, fitted for book-work printing, not newspaper printing." He tried a bolder method on the block he had at hand--a picturesque drawing by Foster for a Christmas number--and had commissions from Cooke for many years.[73]

The technique of bolting wood blocks together for large cuts and then subdividing the work among a number of engravers came into use just about the time the Illustrated London News was started. Though not employed immediately, it was surely the practice before the end of the journal's first year, for the engraving of the Colosseum Print, measuring three feet by four feet, was done by eighteen wood engravers with different specialties--buildings, foliage, tints--working for two months, "never stopping night or day," on over sixty separate blocks, all under the supervision of Landells.[74]

With obvious pride in its accomplishments in wood engraving, the Illustrated London News printed in volume 4 a history of the art of wood engraving by William A. Chatto, co-author, with Mason Jackson's brother, of the classic Treatise on Wood-Engraving. W. J. Linton provided exquisite engravings. The preface to volume 4 reflected on the significance of this feature:

> In a Journal which has so fostered its progress and widened its territory--which contains some of the most beautiful specimens of its excellence--which is a rare epitome of its practical utility--a storehouse of its harvest--a garden of its flowers, an orchard of its fruit--it seemed singularly appropriate that its "Picture History" should be registered as we have registered it here.[75]

These rococo raptures--probably Bayley's--should not be allowed to diminish the significance of Ingram's journal in the history of wood engraving.

Contemporaries that acknowledged the appearance of the new illustrated paper remarked most of all on its "pictorial embellishments." The Stirling Journal noted, "The embellishments are in the finest style--such only as we have been accustomed to see illustrating the higher order of monthly and other publications"; Mona's Herald pointed to the "thirty splendid wood-cut engravings of subjects of passing interest, in a style which, twenty years ago, could have been scarcely equalled on copper." The journal's letterpress was favorably received as well: "an excellent summary of all the news of the week, original articles written with talent and judgment," said Mona's Herald, in a comment that is a little surprising, for a great deal of the journal's text was derivative.[76] Following the traditions of the Sunday press, and in method corresponding to Gilbert's drawings of the Queen's ball, the ILN in its early years took advantage of its week's end publication to glean its news from the columns of the dailies. Except for the leaders, editorials, reviews, and the descriptions accompanying the illustrated features, there is little original material, and column after column contains nothing but excerpts from other papers. Bayley, with a few assistants, and with Alfred Crowquill, who supplied the jokes, may have comprised the entire literary staff for the first number. Over the years Ingram built up an editorial department and an impressive list of contributors,

as Jackson and Shorter affirmed. The Illustrated London News, like Punch, benefited from continuing restrictions on the English theater, and many talented young men who might otherwise have written for the stage exclusively turned to journalism instead, and particularly to humorous compositions for periodicals. But Ingram secured the services of England's better writers and journalists more slowly than he had the assistance of the nation's artists. The journal's literary contributors were, it seems, considered of less importance than its artists, and even its engravers. It was generally the practice to build the text around the illustration rather than the reverse.[77]

Bayley seems not to have been an especially happy choice as editor, though his florid style may not have seemed as insincere to contemporaries as it does to us today. But his prose, like his person, was affected; he prided himself in being as like William Maginn as possible, even to the point of developing a slight stutter. More a "scribbler" than a writer, he composed poetry and popular songs, and while associated with the ILN continued to turn out his Comic Nursery Tales. His habits were irregular; he was always in financial difficulties and poor health, and he died at the age of forty-five.[78] Bayley appointed as sub-editor a man named Monahan. Vizetelly remembered him only as "an impecunious fellow-countryman," but he had long been connected with the Morning Advertiser and might have benefited the ILN by his experience had ill health not forced him shortly to resign.[79]

Very little is known about the editorial department in Bayley's time. One cannot even be certain how long he served as editor: William

Smith says he "disappeared from the scene" in 1846, but Jabez Hogg remembered that "Bailey [sic] did not long retain the editorship of the paper" and claims that the editorial work was done by the sub-editor, Charles Clyatt, who had been a reporter for The Times. "The editorial post," recalled Hogg, "changed hands many times." The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature records a man named William James Stewart as editor following Bayley. Contrary to the arrangements of many contemporaries, the editorial staff of the ILN seems to have played no significant role in shaping the paper during its early years. Rather, it was the proprietor who controlled and directed all departments of the journal.[80]

Though without a large or powerful editorial staff, Ingram had the assistance in his enterprise of a variety of talented individuals. He had, of course, his partner Nathaniel Cooke, and, shortly after the paper was established, another partner in William Little of Northamptonshire, whose sister he would marry in 1843. Both Cooke and Little were, however, obviously subordinates in the operation of the firm.[81] There was also Marriott, with whom Ingram evidently had a falling out before the first issue appeared. Marriott went on to speculate in publications such as the Death Warrant--later called the Guide to Life--the Railway Bell, and Chat; finally, "for strictly business reasons," he left the country.[82] And there was Vizetelly, who, although his connection with the journal is unrecorded by anyone but himself, would have us believe was responsible for a good deal of its success.

Dr. Jabez Hogg, whom Ingram first met, as we have seen, when Hogg sought to find a publisher for a manual on photography, was a long-time

friend and associate. Hogg was also a well-respected ophthlamic surgeon and eye specialist, and the first president of the Medical Microscopical Society of London. He assisted Ingram and his successors for more than half a century, primarily as a supervisor of the firm's auxiliary book publications.[83]

No doubt the journal's most important adviser, however, was Mark Lemon. The jovial Lemon, comic poet and playwright, was by this time already editor of Punch; he and Ingram were close friends and would remain so for the rest of their lives. Both had grown up in Boston, but it is not known for certain that their friendship began there. It is clear, however, that Ingram sought and listened to Lemon's advice from the founding of the paper on, and that Lemon actually assisted in the journal's management. The biographer of Lemon, for example, recognizes his hand in the paper's second leader, and it seems likely that Ingram derived his paper's liberal principles as well as the humorous cuts that appear in its early numbers from the inspiration of Punch. Through Lemon, Ingram became much identified with the Punch circle, and Punch writers and artists, as we have seen, were frequent contributors to the ILN, and especially to the journal's Christmas numbers, which Lemon supervised. To Lemon Ingram was generous indeed, paying him £100 for overseeing these special holiday numbers, in addition to separate remuneration for the Christmas poems and stories that he contributed. Throughout the paper's first decade Lemon also contributed theater reviews.[84]

In spite of contradictory information about the journal's early editorial staff, it is likely that some time before the end of its first

year the ILN had an efficient and hard-working sub-editor in John Timbs. Timbs had long experience in periodical publication--he had been the editor of Limbird's Mirror from 1827 to 1838--and was a veritable storehouse of antiquarian knowledge and facts about everything. He was especially interested in topography, and wood engravings of public buildings had been a prominent feature of his Literary World: A Journal of Popular Information and Entertainment. In his lifetime he published over one hundred and fifty books, almost all of them compilations of information on the order of his popular Things Not Generally Known (1856, 1859). In character he must have been somewhat Dickensian. Vizetelly recalled:

> Timbs spent the best part of a busy life, scissors in hand, making "snippets." Such of these as could not be used up in "The Mirror" were carefully stored, and when later on he became sub-editor of the "Illustrated London News" and editor of the "Year-Book of Facts," he profited by his opportunities to add largely to his collection. By-and-by he classified his materials, and discovered that, by the aid of a paste brush and a few strokes of the pen, he could instruct a lazy public respecting "Things not generally known," explain "Popular Errors," and provide "Something for Everybody," and that he had, moreover, amassed a perfect store of "Curiosities" of science, history, and other subjects of general interest, wherein people partial to snippets might positively revel. The result was a score of volumes, of which several secured a truly phenomenal success.

Those who worked for the ILN found unforgettable his familiar figure in the large room on the second floor of 198, Strand, where the paper's affairs were carried on. At a table in the middle sat Timbs, surrounded by newspapers, scissors and paste at his side, oblivious to the voices and activities around him as well as to the clatter of traffic on the Strand and the peel of St. Clement's bells. He seems to have been

responsible for putting together the whole of the paper except for the political and literary articles, and he was, no doubt, just the man Ingram needed to collect excerpts from the dailies, arrange the paper, and fill out loose columns with items of useful information. In the early 1840s he may have been, at times, the acting editor; with the assistance of Charles Clyatt and two men identified only as Carlton and Wade, he kept the paper going.[85]

With the advent of Charles Mackay, Ingram at last had a writer and editor to whom he was willing to entrust his enterprise. Mackay was a journalist, popular poet and songwriter, politician, and literary scholar, a liberal and an ardent free-trader. He had been assistant sub-editor, then sub-editor, of the Morning Chronicle from 1835 to 1844, when he resigned to take the editorship of the Glasgow Argus. In that year he made the acquaintance of Herbert Ingram at the Burns Festival at Ayr, a celebration in honor of the poet. Late in 1847 Ingram engaged Mackay to write articles on foreign politics for the London Telegraph, a daily paper he was then projecting. When it failed, Ingram asked him to stay on to write leaders for the ILN. Mackay agreed, on condition that he be allowed to give the paper "a voice on all the political, social, and literary questions of the time." Ingram gave him carte blanche, and must have been pleased with the results, for in 1852 Mackay assumed full editorial responsibility. But in 1859, when he found himself no longer able to express "my own opinions on all the great questions of the time, at home and abroad," Mackay resigned. He went on to found the London Review (1860) and to serve as The Times's special

correspondent in New York during the Civil War. Throughout his lifetime he published a great many travel books and collections of poetry--he had written numerous poems for the ILN during his tenure of office. He was also a popular lyricist and greatly interested in English songs and ballads.[86]

Before Mackay's resignation he had, in addition to John Timbs, the assistance of Thomas Ballantyne in the sub-editorial department of the paper. As a young Paisley weaver Ballantyne had initiated a correspondence with Thomas Carlyle. Through self-help he eventually became editor of the Bolton Free Press and served on the staff of the Manchester Guardian. In 1850 he moved to London to work for the Leader. The sub-editorial duties of the ILN were "precisely those which suited him best, since he had a lynx-like eye for the salient and the interesting in any mass of matter that came before him." But he was ambitious to be an editor, and when some alterations in the financial arrangements of the ILN were proposed, he resigned. After several unsuccessful ventures, he became editor of the St. James's Chronicle.[87]

When Mackay resigned, John Lash Latey, who had been connected with the ILN from its commencement, was named literary editor. In the 1840s he had been an ardent advocate of liberal principles and had written articles on education for Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, a rival, of sorts, to the ILN, and on the poor law for Charles Knight. Latey remained literary editor of the ILN until 1890, when he was over eighty years of age.[88]

The information that can be ascertained about the ILN's editorial staff in its first decade indicates that it was quite small. The

permanent, in-house staff may have consisted of no more than an editor--when there was one--a sub-editor (Timbs), and a few assistants. Most of the "news" copy--columns on parliamentary debates, foreign and domestic intelligence, law intelligence, naval and military intelligence, the court and life in high society--was constructed from accounts in the daily papers, with and without acknowledgment. Reports of accidents and police court cases came from the ubiquitous penny-a-liners. By summer, 1842, however, much of this news was presented less by means of disjointed excerpts than by summary. Obviously the in-house staff had been enlarged, and this change may have coincided with the arrival of Timbs. Before the end of 1842 some accounts in the "Foreign Intelligence" column were signed "by our correspondent," and it seems certain that the ILN had arrangements for news to be forwarded regularly from Paris, and perhaps a few other Continental cities, throughout its first decade, though again, news from the dailies probably comprised most of the foreign section. The journal also seems to have secured the assistance of a few domestic correspondents to provide specific reports--the "Markets" column, for example, was signed "by a correspondent," identified in December 1842 as Robert Herbert, and the weather columns from the mid-1840s on were prepared by James Glaisher, F.R.A.S., an aeronaut and meteorologist at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, who was instrumental in organizing the science of meteorology.[89] Other correspondents--the one in Hamburg, for example, reporting in June on the extent of May's fire--were no doubt secured only temporarily, when the occasion demanded it. Again on occasion, the journal may have employed parliamentary reporters, as it did prior to its first supplement, offered to

subscribers at the opening of Parliament in 1843,[90] but it is unlikely that they were engaged on a regular basis. For reports on the proceedings of professional and scientific societies, arrangements were made with participants. The journal's own special correspondents did, however, attend state ceremonies, festivities, and the like; in many cases these reporters traveled with the special artists, or the artists themselves supplied the text as well as the pictures.

The original material that appeared in the ILN--limited but interesting--was not generally written by the regular staff. At times leading articles and editorials were prepared by the editor, but as often as not they were secured from free-lance writers who had a regular association with the journal. Reviews of literature, dramatic and musical productions, and exhibitions were secured in the same way. All the journal's special features--its humorous articles, its series on "British Agriculture" or the "Watering Places of England," its Christmas numbers, its poems and short stories and serialized fiction--came from out-of-doors contributors. For these features Ingram was, by the same method of liberal payment with which he attracted artists, able to secure, in time, the services of a great many of England's popular writers.

The tentativeness and lack of precision of much of the information on these contributors to the ILN, and even on its editorial staff, deserve comment; the problem is that faced in researching a great many Victorian periodicals. The tradition of anonymity in journalism was strong until the latter half of the nineteenth century, and, unless one is working on a periodical that has been treated in the Wellesley Index,

or is so fortunate as to find a "marked file" in the journal's archives or among an editor's private papers, one has to rely on the sometimes conflicting testimony of contemporaries and on early historians of the press. Artists and engravers for the ILN frequently signed their work or were identified in the journal's pages, but authors, except those of tales and serialized fiction, were rarely acknowledged, and leader writers never. The names of the editors and literary contributors given in this chapter have been gleaned from the memoirs of nineteenth-century journalists and from references in the journal itself. While probably accurate as far as it goes, this information is by no means final or complete.

One writer of political articles for the ILN before Mackay's time was Lewis Filmore. Filmore was both a journalist and a poet. His poems appear in the journal throughout the mid- and late 1840s, and in 1845 he translated a tale by Frederica Bremer for the journal as well. Eventually he left England to reside on the Continent as a special correspondent for The Times, but he continued, while abroad, to write for the ILN.[91]

Another early leader writer was Edward Miall. Miall was a radical politician who advocated Chartist reforms but was not himself a Chartist; he hoped, instead, to bring the Chartists into established, middle-class political organizations. He was most vehement in his attacks on the established church; in 1841 he founded the Nonconformist, serving as editor for many years, and in 1844 he established the Anti-State Church Association. He was elected to Parliament in 1852, and served again from 1869 to 1874.[92]

Gilbert Abbott á'Beckett is also known to have contributed leaders during the 1840s. Á'Beckett was a lawyer and magistrate by profession. He was selected to investigate the Andover Union scandal, and the report he submitted to Parliament was highly praised. But he found time, too, for a great variety of journalistic activities. In 1831 he had been a founder-editor of the comic Figaro in London, and a decade later assisted in establishing Punch. He was a prolific writer of humorous articles on a great variety of topics, of comic verse, and of puns and jokes. And he wrote leaders for The Times, the Morning Herald, and the Illustrated London News.[93]

Á'Beckett was succeeded by Shirley Brooks, who began as early as 1852 a long association with the ILN, for which, claims his biographer, he "did everything by turn and everything well." In addition to leading articles on political subjects, Brooks wrote verses for illustrations, stories and occasional pieces, and a weekly column of literary chatter entitled "Nothing in the Papers." He was also on the staff of the Morning Chronicle, serving as parliamentary reporter and dramatic critic, and in 1850 and 1851 he was sent by that paper to investigate the condition of the agricultural classes of southern Russia, Asia Minor, and Egypt. His report was a companion piece to Henry Mayhew's celebrated inquiries into the laboring classes of London. But comic journalism was Brooks's forte. He had been a contributor to the Man in the Moon and afterwards joined the Punch table, eventually serving as editor following Lemon's death.[94]

In addition to leader writers, there were a number of versatile authors like Brooks who contributed a wide variety of articles to the

ILN and had a regular association with the journal during its first decade. One was Albert Smith, who was introduced to the ILN's readers in 1846 with a humorous column entitled "Tracts for the Trains." Smith had been a medical student with John Leech. His contributions to the comic periodical Cosmorama, with which H. G. Hine and Landells had also been associated, brought him into prominent notice as a humorist, and he joined the staff of Punch in the early 1840s. Not yet thirty, he was during these days the very model of a Bohemian. Vizetelly remarked that it was his "great delight . . . to caper at some masked ball in the guise of a Gavarni débardeur, or a booted and bewigged French postilion, dancing energetically till daylight with some fourth rate actress of whom he had become temporarily enamoured." His "noisy self-assertion and boisterous behaviour" and his pretense to the canons of literary and artistic taste, as well as his niggard refusal to sponsor a bowl of punch at the celebrated Punch dinners, alienated Jerrold and Thackeray, and he became a habitual target of the former's acid wit. In 1844 he severed his connections with Punch, and, a few years later, in company with Angus B. Reach and with the financial backing of Ingram, he launched the Man in the Moon (1847-49) as a rival to Punch. His greatest success, however, was not as a comic writer but as a showman. His panoramic lectures on his ascent of Mont Blanc--some said he was carried to the crest in a basket--filled Egyptian Hall in Picadilly for two thousand performances in the early 1850s. "Mont Blanc is the monarch of mountains!" exclaimed a member of the Fielding Club when Smith entered the room. "Yes," retorted Jerrold, "and Albert 'half-crowned' him long ago!"

Smith's "Tracts for the Trains" in the ILN must have been well received, for upon the conclusion of the series in November 1846, Smith stayed on to conduct the journal's "Everybody's Column," and, later, another humorous series called the "Composite Column." He also served during this period as a paper's dramatic critic. In June 1848 he was sent to Paris to report on the state of that city for the journal, and the following year he reported on the upheavals in Rome.[95]

Smith was succeeded as the ILN's dramatic critic in 1849 by John Abraham Heraud, a dramatist and author of a number of labored epic poems, including The Descent into Hell (1830). "Have you seen Heraud's Descent into Hell?" Douglas Jerrold was asked; "No, but I should like to," he quipped. Heraud, a scholarly friend of Carlyle, also served as dramatic critic to the Athenaeum, and he wrote on historical and miscellaneous subjects as well. He contributed, for example, poems, reflections, and the melancholy "Stanley Mortimer: A Tale of Mental Action" to the ILN's Christmas numbers.[96]

Perhaps through Smith's influence, his friend Angus Bethune Reach also became a regular contributor to the Illustrated London News. Reach, a young Scottish gentleman, had come to London in 1841 and shortly thereafter joined the staff of the Morning Chronicle, where Charles Mackay was very impressed with his talent for reporting. Reach, Mackay later explained,

> introduced a style then unpractical, except in the editorial articles, by means of which he brought before the reader's mind a vivid picture, such as a novelist would paint, of every occurrence that passed under his eye--rapid, correct, graphic, and full of life and animation. Under

> his influence the reader could but see what he saw, hear what he heard, and share all the emotions and excitements of an actual spectator of the scene. This was an immense advance upon the old reporting style. It immediately found imitators in other journals, and picturesque reporting became thenceforward the fashion.

Industrious to a fault, Reach wrote novels and became a steady contributor to a multitude of periodicals, including, as we have seen, the Man in the Moon and, ultimately, Punch itself. For the ILN he wrote a series on the police offices of London, which appeared in 1846 and 1847, and in 1851 a weekly essay called "Town Talk and Table Talk of the Week," in which he commented in a familiar, conversational tone on matters of current discussion. His reflections on traveling by train appeared irregularly in the spring of 1852 as "The Railway Note-Book; or, Jottings in the Station, the Terminus, and the Train." In 1850 and 1851 the Morning Chronicle sent him to rural England and France to investigate the condition of the agricultural classes in a study that paralleled Brooks's and Mayhew's. The next year Reach began to suffer from a kind of brain fever, the result, his friends said, of too much work, and Brooks, long his close friend, took over his duties on the Morning Chronicle, and his contributions to other periodicals, too, on condition that Reach's salary be continued. Reach died in 1856.[97]

The successor to Reach's "Town Talk and Table Talk" was Peter Cunningham. Cunningham was the son of Allan Cunningham, the poet and friend of Carlyle, and he inherited his father's love of scholarship. At the age of fifteen he requested permission to read in the British Museum, finally granted two years later. He became a prominent and

enthusiastic member of the Society of Antiquaries, and a frequent contributor to periodicals, including the ILN, of articles on half-forgotten works of art or neglected monuments and public buildings. He is best known for his Hand-Book of London (1849), a guide to places of interest in the city with quotations from distinguished authors associated with them, which he undertook at the suggestion of Robert Peel. Cunningham was a congenial man, and Ingram, Jerrold, Mackay, George Hodder, and G. A. Sala all enjoyed his company at dinner and on excursions and day's rambles, with Cunningham, no doubt, pointing out places of interest along the way, as was his wont. His profound knowledge of English literature, history, and art, and the London literary scene made him the perfect author for "Town Talk and Table Talk," and under his direction this literary and miscellaneous column became one of the most attractive and long-lived features of the ILN. He was succeeded by Brooks with "Nothing in the Papers," then G. A. Sala with "Echoes of the Week," and then James Payn with "Our Notebook." So the title remained until the late 1960s, with L. F. Austin, G. K. Chesterton, and Arthur Bryant its successive contributors.[98]

Like Smith and Reach, Thomas Miller became a contributor of miscellaneous articles and tales to the ILN in the late 1840s. Miller, known as "the basket-maker poet," was the son of an agricultural laborer. He grew up in the working-class district of Gainsborough, where he commenced a lifelong friendship with Thomas Cooper, the Chartist orator. Miller was taught basket weaving by his stepfather, but he published a volume of poems and soon left Gainsborough to try his literary

fortunes in London. With the sponsorship of Lady Blessington, he began writing for periodical publication poems and reflections on country life that made the most of his humble origins. For the Illustrated London News he wrote a series on London neighborhoods, "Picturesque Sketches of London, Past and Present," that appeared from 1848 through 1851, and he prepared the letterpress for Meadows's caricatures, "Characters about Town." He also contributed a tale, Mabel Marchmont, published in three parts in January 1844; a novel, Fred Holdersworth; or, Love and Pride, which was serialized in 1850 and 1851, and a number of reflections on the seasons, such as "Spring Time in London: 'All A-Blowing! All A-Growing!'" and "Frozen-Out Gardeners and Snow Clearers," both in 1850. Edmund Evans remembered accompanying Birket Foster to Miller's "dilapidated-looking house" in Newington--Foster and Miller, with their shared interest in rural subjects, often worked together, as they had, for example, in "Frozen-Out Gardeners." Here, in "a large waste-like garden," Miller used to "compose or think out his letterpress." "He certainly ran loose," remembered Evans, "and wrote a tremendous lot of prose for the Illustrated London News, and I fancy repeated himself considerably."[99]

All three of the Mayhew brothers--Henry, Augustus, and Horace--were associated with the Illustrated London News during its first decade. The Mayhews wrote farces, comic tales, novels, and other humorous pieces. The eldest, Henry, had been a founder of Punch. His report on the working classes of London, prepared for the Morning Chronicle, expanded the scope of journalism to include investigation and philanthropy. An amusing tale, which Vizetelly debunks as apocryphal, is told of Augustus Mayhew's joining

the ranks of ILN contributors. Ingram, Barnabas Brough, and a few others were accustomed to adjourn, of an afternoon, to the old Cheshire Cheese, and formed themselves into a club called The Wits, "for no reason that was ever discovered," quipped Thomas Archer. One afternoon they were discussing astronomy, and, when one of their number exclaimed at the wonder of the sun being a million miles from the earth, a "potential-looking" young man, who had been sitting quietly in a corner booth, interrupted, with apologies, to observe that the distance was actually ninety-five million miles. When this astonishing statement was verified by a messenger sent to the ILN office to check the references there, Ingram exclaimed, "Sir, you are a man of genius, why don't you write for the Illustrated London News?" And so he did. Augustus Mayhew, a man whom, Vizetelly recalled, "everybody liked and laughed with," contributed A Story of the Present Day, serialized in the journal in the spring of 1851. Writing as the Brothers Mayhew with Henry, he submitted The Fear of the World; or, Living for Appearances, which appeared throughout late 1849 and 1850. In conjunction with Crowquill, Horace Mayhew prepared some comic sketches for the journal's Christmas numbers, and an installment of his Letters Left at the Pastrycook's, eventually published by Ingram and Cooke, appeared in the ILN in 1852.[100]

The Barnabas Brough who frequented the Cheshire Cheese with Ingram was the father of the better-known comic journalist Robert Brough and his brother William. The elder Brough at first had a junior post in the ILN's office, probably in the paper's commercial department. A few years earlier he had been an active Chartist, and, in fact, had been

with John Frost and Ernest Jones at the Newport Rising in 1839. Fearing that events were getting out of hand, he had disappeared from the crowd and made his way home. But proceedings were taken against him, and his brewery business was ruined. Subsequently he left Newport for London. One contemporary, William Tinsley, was certain that it was he who, "by a strange coincidence," reported for the ILN on the Chartist meeting on Kennington Common.[101]

John Oxenford, a dramatist, scholar, and contributor to periodicals, was, like Brough, associated with the ILN from its early days. He had been on the staff of Punch, and in 1850 became the dramatic critic for The Times. He held this position for twenty-five years, despite a leniency that undercut his opinion as a critic. He was a facile writer in prose and verse, and contributed tales and sketches, such as "The Grocer's Shop on Christmas Eve," to the ILN's Christmas numbers.[102]

From the end of the 1840s to 1853 the ILN's music criticism was the contribution of Charles Louis Gruneison. Gruneison was a journalist of long experience. He had served as a correspondent for a wide variety of papers, managed the foreign department of the Morning Post, was sub-editor of the Guardian and editor of the British Traveller and Commercial and Law Gazette before trying his hand as editor of the short-lived illustrated weekly, Great Gun. While in Paris in 1848 he organized an express system for transmitting correspondence to London via pigeons. On his return to London, he became music critic for Brittania, the Morning Chronicle, the ILN, and, later, the Athenaeum, and he was instrumental in supporting the opera company at Covent Garden.[103]

A great many poems appearing in the early volumes of the ILN are from the poet and composer J. Augustine Wade. An Irish scholar who had studied medicine before turning to music as a profession, Wade wrote an opera and an oratorio, a great many popular ballads including "Meet Me by Moonlight," and a study of harmony and counterpoint for the piano. To the ILN he contributed sentimental verses such as "Twilight Falls: A Serenade" and "The Wind of Heaven! National Song"; seasonal offerings, like a sonnet to February; poems to accompany illustrations, like the picture of the "Colossal" statue of the Queen; occasional poems, like his celebration of "The Ceremony of Laying the First Stone of the Birkenhead Docks"; and songs, like "The Minnesinger's Serenade," for which he both wrote the lyrics and composed the melody. His contributions appear so frequently that one suspects he might have been on the journal's staff--perhaps he was the "Wade" who served as an assistant to Timbs. But his obituaries in the ILN--he died in 1845--make no mention of his association with the journal.[104]

After Wade's death a great deal of the occasional verse appearing in the ILN is from Charles Mackay, but a number of poems, too, are from Miles Gerald Keon. Keon was a barrister and novelist, and on the regular staff of the Morning Post. For the ILN he wrote such poems as "The Plague Comes, and the Plague Goes," which appeared at the conclusion of the cholera outbreak. Later in life he was colonial secretary for Bermuda.[105]

With its seventh number, June 25, 1842, the Illustrated London News presented its readers with the world's first chess column. In 1844 or

1845 this regular feature was taken over by Howard Staunton, a literary critic and editor of the Illustrated Shakspere for which Kenny Meadows had provided the drawings. Staunton had just soundly defeated Saint-Amant in Paris, and he was henceforth acknowledged as the best chess player in the world. In 1849 he introduced the chessmen still in use today, and he published both the Chess Player's Chronicle and the Chess Player's Handbook, of which millions of copies were sold. The international chess tournament of 1851 was his undertaking. He continued to conduct the ILN's chess column until his death in 1874.[106]

When a festival was held in honor of Robert Burns in his native town of Ayr, in August 1844, Ingram announced that he had secured the services of several artists and authors. "No expense will be spared in the execution of the Engravings, which will be both splendid and numerous. The Literary Department is entrusted to one of the most popular Writers in Scotland." Landells, a young Scottish artist named Noel Paton, and Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, a fashionable literary couple who were associated with Ireland rather than Scotland, attended the festival to represent the Illustrated London News, and Ingram himself accompanied them.[107] Samuel Carter Hall had begun his career as a parliamentary reporter. He subsequently edited several periodicals and, from 1825 to 1827, The Amulet, a popular illustrated annual, one of the elaborate Christmas gift-books then in fashion. In 1839 he became the founder-editor of the Art Journal. His purposes were noble enough: "to create a public for Art," to encourage patronage for contemporary British arts and artists. But his pretensions and his genial connections with British

art manufacturers undercut his effectiveness, and he was lampooned in Punch as the original of Dickens's Pecksniff. Hall's wife, Anna Marie Hall, was a more likable figure. Active in various philanthropic projects, notably Chelsea Hospital, she also contributed to periodicals stories of Irish life, particularly of the Irish peasantry, which always, recalled William Chambers, had "a distinct moral purpose." She assisted her husband with his work, and during the annual craze of the 1820s and 1830s edited the Juvenile Forget-Me-Not. Together they edited a number of collections of British ballads. The Halls reported on the Burns Festival, during which they were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Chambers, with great enthusiasm, regretting only that so few of England's distinguished authors were in attendance.[108]

Douglas Jerrold was also a part of Ingram's party at the Burns Festival, though not, it seems as a representative of the ILN, for no accounts by him of the proceedings appear in the journal. Jerrold was, however, an occasional contributor to Ingram's paper, especially to its Christmas numbers, for which he composed tales and reflections, as, for example, his fairy tale "The Sick Giant and the Doctor Dwarf." Jerrold was one of the ILN's most illustrious contributors. A radical in politics, a relentless social critic and exposer of the hypocritical in Victorian life, and a pungent wit, he was a journalist, dramatist, editor, author, and proprietor. He was a regular writer for Punch, projected a number of short-lived periodicals in the 1840s--including the Illuminated Magazine, of which Ingram was the proprietor--and in 1852 accepted the editorship of Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper.[109]

William Blanchard Jerrold was, like his more famous father, a novelist, journalist, and playwright. His Progress of a Bill, a comic novel, was serialized in the ILN in 1848, and he contributed tales and short humorous pieces thoughout the journal's first decade. During the Great Exhibition he supplied a long essay on the history of industrial exhibitions that appeared in installments in the ILN's Exhibition Supplements, and in 1855 he reported on the Paris Exhibition for the ILN, the Daily News, and the Athenaeum. He also wrote the text for Gustave Doré's famous London: A Pilgrimage (1872).[110]

Bayle Bernard was also a contributor to the ILN's Exhibition Supplements. Charles Dickens is reputed to have said that if Bernard could have written as well as he could talk, he would have been one of the most popular writers of his day. Bernard was a playwright and a studious, thoughtful man, but he wrote for the ILN in a comic vein. His impressions of the Great Exhibition are given as a series of letters to "Uncle Enoch, Aunt Hildah, Deacon Bigelow, and others," from "Peleg E. Wheeler, of Penobscot, State of Maine, U.S., Member of the Penobscot Historical Society and Major of its Independent Corps of Boundary Volunteers."[111]

Through Mark Lemon the ILN first secured the contributions of the Reverend Edward Bradley, the quaint, scholarly rector of Stretton, near Oakham, better known by his pseudonym of "Cuthbert Bede." Bede, like Crowquill, composed and illustrated humorous articles, and for Punch he prepared a series of forty illustrations with dialogue, in the nature of what we should today call a comic strip, of the life of "Verdant Green," an Oxford freshman. With Bede's permission, Lemon transferred the series

to the literary and Christmas Supplements of the ILN. When published separately, Bede's sketches of Verdant Green were, according to Spielmann, "among the great popular successes of the century." A few years later Mackay asked Bede to write a paper for the ILN on double acrostics, which he had devised upon studying monkish acrostics and with which he was then privately amusing his friends. The result was a great public interest, and, for the ILN, the world's first regular column on acrostics.[112]

Many of these popular writers, as noted, contributed to the ILN's Christmas numbers, which, modeled on the kinds of books the Halls edited, in miniature, contained picturesque scenes of the season, poems, short Christmas tales and reflections, songs, and jokes and puzzles. Other writers, who had no regular connection with the journal and thus no special influence on it, contributed to these special numbers. They included, briefly, Calder Campbell, a poet, novelist, and writer of travel sketches; Miss Sheridan Carey, who wrote occasional poems; Barry Cornwall, the pseudonym adopted by the poet, dramatist, and songwriter Bryan Waller Procter; Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose "Unpardonable Sin" was printed in the Christmas number for 1852; William Hazlitt, a parliamentary reporter, son of a more famous father; Mrs. T. K. Hervey, a poetess who was more famous as the wife of the poet and editor of annuals; R. H. Horne, a versatile writer of poems and prose who reported to Parliament on the employment of children in factories and mines; Mary Howitt, who, with her husband William wrote miscellaneous pieces and edited the People's Journal, and who often worked as a translator;

Leigh Hunt, founder of the Examiner, friend of the Romantic poets, and by this time a relic of another day; John Westland Marston, a dramatic poet well-known in Dickens's circles, the poetical critic for the Athenaeum; William T. Moncrieff, who wrote poems, plays, travel literature, and historical guides; Anthony Montalba, who collected and translated fairy tales; Stephen Oliver, who specialized in books describing angling excursions; Martin Tupper, the sentimental and patriotic poet who was exceedingly popular; and James Wylson, who also wrote an inventor's guide.[113]

Then there were authors who contributed an occasional short tale or full-length novel to the journal. These include Frederica Bremer, the Swedish novelist, whose sketches of Swedish life were translated by Mary Howitt; the Baroness de Calabrella, who wrote popular romantic novels; William Carleton, the powerful and sympathetic delineator of Irish life; Henry Cockton, who wrote a great many popular comic novels; Louisa Stuart Costello, best known for historical narratives which combine graphic scenic detail and historical anecdote; Catherine Crowe, a novelist whose imaginative plots contrasted with her prosaic characters, and who enjoyed being suspected of writing Vestiges of Creation; Julia Pardoe, a novelist and writer of graceful, popular histories; and Camilla Toulmin, the author of many poems and stories illustrating the sufferings of the poor, a friend of the Howitts.[114]

Finally, Charles Mackay provides in his autobiographies lists of contributors to the ILN during his connection with the journal. In addition to some mentioned above, these include D. T. Ansted, the geologist

and prolific author who was interested in the practical application of geology to mining, engineering, and water supply; George Clifford, who also wrote for The Times; Sirling Coyne, a dramatist, early contributor to Punch, and for many years dramatic critic of the Sunday Times; Jonathan Duncan, a currency reformer and expert on political economy whose history of Russia was published by Ingram and Cooke; George Hogarth, the father-in-law of Dickens, who succeeded Gruneison as music critic; Richard Rowan Moore, a political economist who had been an eloquent orator for the Anti-Corn Law League; Marguerite Power, the niece of Lady Blessington, who in 1853 was appointed the ILN's Paris correspondent at the request of Thackeray; W. H. Wills, a lifelong friend of Dickens who contributed to the Penny Magazine, Saturday Magazine and the Daily News; and two sporting writers known by their pseudonyms, "The Druid" and "Harry Hieover." In addition, Edmund Yates recalled that Charles Kenny, the reporter for The Times and intimate of Dickens and Thackeray, and Palgrave Simpson, who had reported on the French Revolution for The Times, then settled in London to write dramas, were on the staff of the ILN when he was first asked to compose verses for the Christmas number in 1853.[115]

What I have sought to do in writing at length about the artists, engravers, and writers who worked for the ILN in its early days is to reconstruct, as far as possible, the atmosphere in which the journal was conducted. To the big room on the second floor at 198, Strand, where all managerial, financial, and editorial matters were attended to, came well-known men and, as Jackson recalled,

> the young literary or artistic aspirant, who thought he saw in the new journal an opening for his hitherto unappreciated talents. . . . The founder of the paper received all who came with good-humour and generous feeling, and never disregarded a useful hint or refused the proffered assistance of a good man.[116]

Through the big room came serious, hard-working men like John Gilbert and Angus Reach, opportunists like "Alphabet" Bayley, prominent artists like William Harvey, shy men with singular gifts like Cuthbert Bede, reliable men like Samuel Read, rousing Bohemians like Albert Smith and quiet Bohemians like Charles Keene, political radicals like Barnabas Brough and W. J. Linton, liberal men, with careful positions on all questions of the day, like Charles Mackay. Ingram saw them all, and though himself not a literary, even an educated, man, he found a way to shape their talents to his ends.

Clement Shorter makes reference to an impression in journalistic circles that "the founder of the Illustrated was, to put it bluntly, considerably fleeced by his talented and, doubtless, somewhat Bohemian associates." "But," he goes on, "it can scarcely be doubted that Herbert Ingram gathered a fund of helpful ideas, not only socially but in his journalistic enterprise, from this companionship with artists and men of letters."[117] These sophisticated denizens of literary London no doubt sensed that Ingram was not one of them. They must have found his temper hot--one artist recalled that he kept a rotund compositor on hand for the express purpose of having someone to kick in fits of anger, and John Timbs regularly wrote out his resignation after one of Ingram's temperamental outbursts, only to return sheepishly to the office

early the next morning to retrieve it before the proprietor arrived. They found Ingram's provincial manners crude--Lemon had to remind him not to scratch his seat when he spoke in public, and Mackay had to restrain him from tossing copper coins to the starving people of Ireland who pressed around his coach. They even found him lacking a knowledge of art--Linton recalled that Ingram once asked him if he had leave from Guido to copy his Aurora. They found his background undignified, and for a while Parr's Life Pills was a regular joke in the pages of Punch.[118] But they also found Ingram, as Mackay put it, "the soul of honour in monetary transactions," a strong-willed man, but a kind, generous, and a just employer; and, in time he had their respect.[119] Edmund Yates, who began his connection with the paper in 1853, recalled, "A short, bluff, outspoken man was Mr. Herbert Ingram, with a rough manner and a very kind heart." He "dressed in ill-fitting clothes, and had a white beaver hat with very long nap, like a country farmer. He was rather uncouth, very brusque, and without much claim to education, but he was an excellent man of business, and to me always liberal, kind, and encouraging." And even the ever-critical Vizetelly, who remembered Ingram as "short, thick-set and round-shouldered, with a head a good deal too big for his body, and large coarse features. . . . careless too, not to say slovenly, in his dress, and had a slouching gait which served to render him still more ungainly looking," admitted that "when one came to know him, however, all this was over-looked by reason of his frank and simple manners."[120]

Above all, the early ILN seems to have been produced in an atmosphere of youthful exuberance; most of the contributors were young men,

and Ingram himself was scarcely over thirty when he founded his paper. There was in that big room at 198, Strand, a jovial congeniality much like that found among the famed Punch crowd--after all, most of the Punch men were contributors to the ILN as well.[121] And if the nature of the illustrated newspaper did not allow for the public merriment that the early Punch is known for, that did not inhibit the ILN men from having just as good a time behind the scenes. There were practical jokes, like the time Constantin Guys, in London for the first time, was sent to the Tower to sketch what he was told was the annual ceremony of washing the lions, always performed "with much pomp and elaboration." When Guys returned, however, with a detailed, carefully drawn representation of the "ceremony," "with all its stately accessories," the joke was on the proprietors, who had to reimburse the artist for his time and ingenuity. There were clever puns, unnoticed, perhaps, by most of the journal's readers, like the inscription under Birket Foster's picturesque drawing of a Christmas holly cart pulled by a pretty donkey--"The Christmas Holly Cart. Drawn by B. Foster," it read--a joke, Edmund Evans recalled, on his friend for some time afterwards. There were afternoon meetings of The Wits at the Cheshire Cheese, day's rambles with Peter Cunningham, walking tours of Scotland, and trips to Ireland and Switzerland. There were ILN dinners to celebrate the journal's success, and spiritous ILN outings at Ingram's property at Loudwater, Bucks., where the paper for the journal was manufactured.[122] For Ingram managed not only to secure the contributions of fine artists, engravers, and writers, and to shape their talents to his enterprise, but to create

the atmosphere and traditions that go a long way to making a periodical more than the sum of its contributions and that went far to making the ILN not just a newspaper but an institution of family pride for generations and of Victorian life as well.

As proprietor and manager of the ILN, Ingram worked constantly, as we have seen, to improve the journal's methods of securing illustrations and to procure the services of better artists, engravers, and writers. He was equally assiduous in attending to the technical arrangements for printing the journal. Jabez Hogg recalled:

> Mr. Ingram's mind was always on the alert as to the details of the several departments of the paper. Any improvement suggested to him which might appear to be at all feasible was at once seized upon and adopted. If anything went wrong in printing off the paper, I have known him remain up all night, or until the difficulty was surmounted.

Though himself a printer, Ingram engaged the firm of Clayton and Palmer to print his new journal; the firm's steam printing presses were located next door to his own establishment in Crane Court. Joseph Clayton was an experienced printer and a publisher of repute; he also handled the Spectator, which W. J. Linton recalled as "at that time the most important and best of weekly newspapers in London." Distribution of the ILN to newsagents was made through Clayton's shop at 320, Strand.[123]

As he gained experience in the rapid printing of wood blocks, Ingram found ways to improve quality and increase production. On July 23, 1842, he announced the development of an improved method for distributing ink, without "waving" rollers, which resulted in greater

cleanliness and a savings of twelve to fifteen percent in the amount of ink required for printing. The trade was invited to the offices of Clayton and Palmer to see this new process in use for printing the Illustrated London News. The following March an editorial hinted at improvements in printing to which the new illustrated paper had given incentive:

> We may indulge our readers in the prospect of our being able soon to keep even pace with public intelligence in our working at press, by the great improvements which we are each week making in the practical application of machinery to the printing of our engravings--machinery already quite without precedent, and which it must take months and months of practice, experiment, and experience to attempt to rival, even at a humble distance of success.[124]

The references to "prospect" and "experiment" were no doubt to the work of William Little, the brother of Ingram's fiancée; about this time he became a junior partner in the firm of Ingram and Cooke. Little, Hogg recalled, had a "mechanical turn of mind," and in the spring of 1843 he completed the working drawings for a "fast-printing" machine that Ingram hoped to put to use, for already the increasing sale of the ILN had surpassed the production capacity of Clayton and Palmer's machines. Little's design was patented, and Mr. T. Middleton,a mechanical engineer of Southwark, was commissioned to build two machines to Little's specifications. On April 8, 1843, Ingram formally announced that he had contracted for the "immediate construction of two new machines, upon a novel and beautiful model, and with a power equal to the rapid production of nearly four times the present circulation of the Illustrated London News within the period now allotted to the working off of the number supplied." Three weeks later it was explained that, until the new machines were ready, public demand for the journal had forced it to

commence a "double establishment"--that is, a duplicate composition, and, of course, two sets of engravings, for printing by two machines simultaneously.[125]

In the following months apologies were offered to readers for inconveniences and delays they might experience in receiving their copies of the journal, and they were reminded that the new machines, which would remedy such problems, were on their way.[126] Meanwhile the premises at 198, Strand, were expanded by the addition of 9, Milford Lane, a property located directly to the rear. With the installation of the new machines in late September, all departments of the ILN were brought together under one roof. The issue for October 7, 1843, contained an announcement that the current number had been printed by the new machinery. William Little--now Ingram's brother-in-law, for Ingram had married Anne Little on July 4--was shortly listed as printer and publisher; he also served as the firm's cashier. Distribution was made to newsagents on the first floor of the journal's offices.[127]

A few months later, on the anniversary of the introduction of steam printing by The Times in 1814, the ILN carried an illustration of its new machines, as well as a description of how they worked. They were two-feeder, four-cylinder, flat-bed presses. Inking and printing were accomplished by the alternative reciprocal motion of rollers and cylinders. The machines were driven by a six-horse-power steam engine, and two thousant perfected sheets (sheets printed on both sides) could be produced in an hour.[128]

Little continued to devise improvements in printing machinery. A few years later he invented and patented a "Double-Action Printing

Machine," which utilized the hitherto wasted motion involved in all reciprocal processes. Instead of only two printed sheets being produced by the backward and forward motion of four cylinders, the principle on which all "fast-printing" machines then operated, Little's working model--"beautifully-constructed, . . . three inches to a foot"--produced seven printed sheets for every backward and forward motion of its eight cylinders, six of which were capable of reversing motion. Forty-five hundred to five thousand sheets could be printed in one hour, with a better quality of inking and impression as well. A few weeks later Little improved on his design to make possible the printing of sheets on both sides simultaneously, and therefore the production of over three thousand perfected sheets an hour. There is no evidence that the ILN was ever printed by Little's Double-Action Printing Machine, but it is likely that it was used to print Ingram's daily paper, the London Telegraph.[129]

The production capacity of Little's 1843 machines, sufficient for meeting demand for the paper in 1843, was inadequate less than a decade later, and again, early in 1851, subscribers were asked to be patient with delays they might encounter in receiving their copies until two additional machines were ready. These were being constructed by Augustus Applegath, a well-known engineer who had increased the production capacity of The Times's presses in the 1820s by the addition of feeding stations and had devised numerous improvements in printing machinery since that time. In 1846 he had invented a "Vertical Printing Machine," which pioneered in the use of rotary rather than reciprocal motion.

The type itself was fixed to the cylinder, and impressed against the paper in a vertical position, four sheets being printed with each revolution of the cylinder. The eight-cylinder vertical machine Applegath had built for The Times in 1848 could print over ten thousand sheets an hour. While waiting for the completion of the Applegath machines, Ingram was again forced to duplicate composition in order to meet the increased circulation the journal experienced as the Great Exhibition approached and to produce the numerous Exhibition Supplements. He experimented with a process of reproducing a set of engravings by a method of "poly-typing," which had the unfortunate result of not only producing very faulty impressions but destroying the original engraved wood block as well.[130]

At last the new Applegath Vertical Printing Machines were ready. Smaller versions of The Times's machines, each could print five thousand sheets an hour. One was set up in the Crystal Palace itself, to "enable the proprietors to facilitate the Saturday morning early delivery" and to "gratify the millions of enquiring visitors to the Great Exhibition." Located in the north side of the Crystal Palace, in the area designated "Machinery in Motion," it was a feature attraction of the Great Exhibition. In June Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited the "Machinery in Motion" exhibit, accompanied by members of the royal family and by Joseph Paxton, the designer of the Crystal Palace. Ingram and Applegath were on hand to explain the machinery to the royal couple, who expressed "a high degree of surprise and admiration" at its "rapidity and accuracy of impression." The Queen graciously accepted a copy of the ILN printed on the site, "which Mr. Ingram had the honour of presenting."

> By a fortuitous coincidence, it happened that the portion of the impression which was being printed at the time was the Supplement for this week, the front page of which contains an engraving of Prince Albert's Model Lodging-house, which faces the south entrance of the Crystal Palace. Her Majesty and the Prince having expressed themselves pleased with the incident, and also in terms of commendation of the style of drawing and beauty of the engraving both of that and of the other Illustrations in the paper, proceeded to inspect a number of wood-engravings which Mr. Ingram brought under their notice; and in which the Royal connoisseurs were pleased to recognise great beauty in the designs, and in the elaborate finish of detail in the engraver's work.
>
> Her Majesty and the Prince, on their departure, took occasion again formally to express the gratification they had derived from the visit.

Victoria recorded in her journal that the Vertical Printing Machine was "particularly interesting."[131]

Improvements in printing arrangements continued apace. In 1856 the journal's Applegath presses were replaced by Hoe's rotary presses, which, first built by the American Richard Hoe in 1846, utilized the principle of rotary motion in a horizontal cylinder and were superior in design and output to the Vertical Printing Machines. That same year the ILN's Christmas Supplement appeared not in the usual black printer's ink, but in colors. Ingram and Cooke had sponsored the Illuminated Magazine and used color printing for the covers of the books they published for several years, commissioning Edmund Evans to do much of the work. But this was the first time color printing had been used in a newspaper. The colors were achieved simply enough: the four colored engravings were printed from separate blocks, one for each color. Although the results were somewhat crude, the supplement excited great interest, and Ingram himself is said to have taken copies in hand to

sell. The ILN's innovations in printing continued, too, after Ingram's time. In the 1870s his son, William Ingram, who had been educated as an engineer and was now, with his brother, proprietor of his father's paper, developed the Ingram Rotary Press, designed specifically to print illustrated pages with great speed and to minimize the distortion of illustrations that usually accompanied rotary printing.[132]

Herbert Ingram was on the alert, too, to other aspects of the printing process that bore upon the quality of his journal. He at first ordered his paper from Spalding and Hodge of Drury Lane. But he found this paper, and that supplied by other manufacturers, unsatisfactory for the fast printing of wood engravings. So he determined to manufacture his own paper, and set up a mill at Loudwater, "fitting it with the more modern appliances." Hogg recalled that here, "by his own persevering skill, he was soon able to produce a very superior quality of paper, whereby the illustrations were brought to a point of excellence never before attained in connection with rapid printing."[133] In a like manner, for his composing room Ingram ordered a "new and improved Type," cast especially for the Illustrated London News by Messrs. Figgins. With the first issue for January 1845, this new type rendered the journal's closely packed columns of text easier to read.[134]

Ingram's efforts to improve the ILN's printing establishment were a response to a general pressure for increased speed in printing felt by all newspaper proprietors. Readers in the 1840s, growing accustomed to railway travel and telegraphic communication, demanded news of a currency undreamed of in the Napoleonic period, and a newspaper proprietor

could not afford to consign his paper to machinery that would, by its slowness, force him to go to press early, while his competitors were still gathering news. As a weekly that presented news in summary, the ILN was not under quite the same pressures as the dailies reporting on events of the previous twenty-four hours. But neither could it print in leisure, as could weeklies that by definition were general miscellanies and whose contents might have been settled on and set in type weeks in advance. And Ingram faced an additional problem--the rapid printing of illustrations, for preparing the overlays that gave the ILN's engravings their tone and quality was a tedious and time-consuming process. "While all those preliminaries are in progress," an article on the Applegath machines explained,

> the hour of "going to press" is rapidly advancing; and although more time might often be very profitably employed in giving the best possible effects to the cuts, so as to gratify not only the public, but the artist himself, yet in order to throw off the requisite number of copies within a limited period, all other considerations must be set aside. Thus, between the desire of delineating the most recent objects of public interest, and that of producing them in large quantities, and at the same time in the most artistic style, a kind of antagonism has existed.[135]

As a printer, Ingram knew how to neutralize, in part, this antagonism, for he realized that the two separate printings necessary to "perfect" the sheets on which the ILN was printed could be turned to good advantage and give him time to print the illustrations with care, yet allow for the addition of late news that would keep the paper current to the very hour of going to press. For his format Ingram selected a sixteen-page folio. Each issue was actually printed on one very large sheet of paper, folded in such a way as to make sixteen pages. Each

side of this sheet, containing eight pages, had to be printed separately, for until late in the century none of the journal's machinery was capable of printing on both sides at once. To the first "form," or arrangement of pages in type coinciding to one side of the large printed sheet, Ingram consigned the leaders, the book reviews and serialized fiction, and, most important, all of the large illustrations and feature articles of general currency--the Queen's royal balls, for example, the royal progresses, the ceremonies and foreign wars and shipwrecks. This form, consisting of pages 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 16, contained material that was prepared in advance. And so it could go to press early, with time allowed for preparing the overlays. Little's 1843 flat-bed presses had been designed specifically for the printing of illustrations, and they continued to be used for printing this "outer," illustrated form until the introduction of the Ingram Rotary Press in the 1870s. The "inner" form, containing pages 2, 3, $\overleftarrow{6}$, 7, 10, 11, 14, and 15, was reserved for the columns in which late news mattered--the column on parliamentary debates, items of foreign and domestic news, the market prices, news from the race tracks, the "Postscript" column, where very late news could be added by stopping the press, editorials, which could be adjusted at the last minute to accommodate recent developments, and, of course, the advertisements. This form, consisting almost entirely of text, with a few small, single-column illustrations, was printed on one of the fast rotary presses, and so could be "put to bed" much later. This printing arrangement produced a journal in which two-page spreads of illustrations alternated with two pages of solid text, the characteristic appearance of

the ILN until the 1880s. After mid-century, when the paper's machinery and finances could handle the issuing of numerous supplements, late events were occasionally given in a supplement of four or eight pages, which could be printed more quickly than the main body of the paper.[136]

The "make-up" of the ILN was arranged, according to William Simpson, a special artist whose association with the paper began after mid-century, on the Thursday week before the issue appeared. At this time the regular columns and illustrated features were probably laid out on "dummies," and space allocated for events scheduled in the next few days. With improvements in printing arrangements and machinery, it became possible for the paper to include illustrations of events that took place on Friday, then Saturday, and then on the Monday preceding publication. For example, illustrations of the Chartist meeting on Kennington Common, Monday, April 10, 1848, appeared in the ILN's issue for April 15. But even late in the century the illustration of an event that took place on the Tuesday before publication was accomplished only with the greatest difficulty.[137]

The engravings had to be completed by the Thursday preceding publication--W. J. Linton recalled sitting up late every Wednesday night to finish his work. And between the sketch and the finished engraving there was a great deal of work to be done--not only that of the draughtsman and the engraver, but the work of the editors who selected the drawings, determined their size, arranged them on dummy pages, and coordinated them with the text. On Thursdays, probably early in the day, the illustrated form went to press. And the editor met with contributors

to "make up" and plan the journal's following number. "I well recollect those Thursday gatherings," commented Harry Furniss, an artist for the ILN in Simpson's time:

> To use the familiar editorial term, the week's paper had been "put to bed," albeit anything but a "bed" of rest, for one heard the groaning, clashing, heated rolling machinery upon which bed the paper was, waiting one's turn. There was difficulty in hearing the lively chatter of those calling upon the Editor by appointment for work for the following number.[138]

Advertisements had to be submitted by Thursday evening, and the inner form went to press the next day, late enough to include Friday morning's news and market prices, but early enough for the country edition to be mailed, or conveyed to W. H. Smith's delivery service, that evening. Subsequent editions were printed every twelve hours up to Sunday morning, and included brief accounts of late developments up to Saturday night.[139] For events of great import, other arrangements could be made. The first page of late editions for April 22, 1843, for example, were printed in black border, for the death of the Duke of Sussex at noon on Friday, April 21, and the last page contained an announcement of his death. It is likely that these pages were made up and printed separately, on a single, small sheet, after news of the Duke's death was received.[140]

Distribution of the Illustrated London News was made, of course, through newsagents, the firm of Ingram and Cooke handling supplies for Nottingham. Country editions reached even the farthest points of the kingdom by Saturday morning, when the paper's Dublin agents announced they would commence sale. There were overseas subscribers, too. Redding and Co. of Boston handled the increasing demand of American readers; and

in Paris, Messrs. Aubert and Co. were able to supply their city customers with the ILN a day after publication, readers elsewhere in France the next day. For a week following publication British newspapers could go by post, without charge, to many foreign ports and colonies, and readers as far away as Greece and India, Newfoundland and Venezuela, were invited to subscribe.[141] On a number of occasions the ILN's opinions on events in France resulted in its being "systematically and rigorously excluded" from that country. On one such occasion, when the journal was impounded by French authorities for an article on Emperor Napoleon, Ingram himself happened to be in Paris. As Jackson pointed out, "he immediately showed that the old energy and perseverance of the Nottingham newsvendor had not forsaken him" for, after great effort, he succeeded in getting the paper released and then went round Paris by cab, putting the journal in the hands of various subscribers himself.[142]

The ingenuity and dynamic energy that characterized Ingram's handling of the technical aspects of printing the ILN marked his efforts at promoting the new paper as well. In this area of newspaper management Ingram was, again, singularly successful, as circulation figures, advertising rates, and profit testify.

On the day the journal was first published, Ingram sent hundreds of sandwich-board men through London's streets to announce the event. Later that year, on Lord Mayor's Day, Ingram chartered a steamer "for the sole use of the perambulating advertisers of the Illustrated London News." The steamer greeted the traditional City barges with "an imposing 'salute'

of broadsides," a display that "attracted universal notice" and with which, claimed the editors, "the civic dignitaries appeared to be highly pleased." Barnabas Brough recalled that Ingram once thought of plastering advertisements over the sides of an elephant and turning it loose in London's crowded thoroughfares, but his jolly idea does not seem to have been executed. Rather the proprietor soon embarked on a less showy, and more profitable, course. When, in August 1842, the journal carried an illustration of the consecration of new colonial bishops, every clergyman in England--11,000 of them--received a complimentary copy of the journal, which "by its general contents, might not unaptly indicate something like a sympathy of ordinary but interesting intelligence with that tone of purity in the conveyance of the pabulum of news to society which neither morality nor religion would forbid." The venture was successful. Two weeks later it was announced that "the clergy, in large numbers" had given the journal "their high sanction," and Jackson reports that there shortly followed "a large and permanent increase in the number of subscribers." At the end of 1843 the editors proclaimed that more than half the clergy of England took the ILN, and the journal was generally known for its so-called rectory public.[143]

In addition to these schemes, Ingram also sought to increase circulation by offering his subscribers bonus gifts of real interest. The hugh Colosseum Print of London, which was presented in early 1843 to readers who had subscribed to the paper for the past six months, was only the first of many such offerings. In early 1845, subscribers received a "companion," a "Panorama of the River Thames," which, printed

on "a beautiful tinted paper, manufactured expressly for the purpose," was over eight feet long and showed, in one view,

> "the Royal-towered Thames;" its "Forests of Masts;" its crowded Docks and Port; its Fleet of Steamers; its Noble Bridges, Unequalled in the World; its busy Wharfs and Quays; and the various objects of interest and beauty upon its immediate banks, including Greenwich, and its Superb Palace-Hospital; and exhibiting the winding of the "Silver Thames" through the mighty mass of buildings that form the metropolis of the Commercial World.[144]

There followed a series of "Grand Picture Exhibitions of the Principal Cities of Europe": Dublin in 1846, Paris--appropriately--in 1848, Edinburgh also in 1848, and Rome in 1850. Punch scoffed at the ILN's pretensions in promoting these large prints, but, acknowledged Spielmann, these "bird's-eye views . . . for a long time enjoyed a great popularity."[145]

When interest in the Great Exhibition took hold of England in 1851, Ingram made good advantage of the excitement and offered subscribers a number of the large prints for which the journal was now known. A large print of the Crystal Palace was promised to help celebrate the opening of the exhibition in May, but, unfortunately, it was not ready until a few weeks later. As the close of the Crystal Palace approached, M. Claudet, who had made the photographs used to prepare the Colosseum Print, was again commissioned, this time to prepare "Photographic Sketches" for a "Grand Panorama of the Great Exhibition."

> These Views, extending to a length of nearly eighty feet, comprehend, with a reality impossible to be surpassed, every object in the whole range of the Exhibition--every Department, and each particular object in the main avenues, being successively embodied in the precise order in which they stood. This series of Views will therefore constitute a pictorial reminiscence of the more striking features of this Great Industrial

> Gathering, at once vividly truthful, and of inherent and lasting interest.

The "Grand Panorama" appeared with the first issue for 1852.[146]

But the journal's primary efforts at making the most of the Great Exhibition went into a series of Exhibition Supplements, designed to present readers with engravings of every single object on exhibit. At first exhibitors were asked to submit drawings of their articles for engraving, or to allow the journal's artists to sketch them; later, with the great success of these Exhibition Supplements, exhibitors had to purchase space for their wares at advertising rates. There were thirty supplements in all; for each one, readers were asked to pay an additional 6d. Continental readers could purchase special editions printed in French and German.[147]

The ILN had offered supplements and double numbers such as these on special occasions since 1843. In that year, the first supplement celebrated the convening of Parliament with information on the British legislature, details on proceedings in the House of Commons, and Her Majesty's speech opening the session, transcribed in full. This supplement consisted of eight pages, duly stamped, and was presented to subscribers free of charge.[148] Thereafter free supplements and double numbers--for which subscribers were charged an extra 6d., but which they were not obliged to purchase--appeared with increasing frequency, and, as often as not, a little late, for they cast a double burden on artists, engravers, and the journal's printing presses.

These supplements and double numbers were offered for a wide variety of purposes. Some consisted primarily of text, presenting, for example,

important debates in Parliament or "useful information," such as the censuses for 1843 and 1844. Others summarized and reflected on events of international significance, such as the revolutions on the Continent in 1848.[149] There were also supplements and special numbers consisting primarily of illustrations--numbers celebrating the journal's birthday, for example, like the one in May 1843 that contained verses and pictures heralding the spring season as well, and the special Christmas numbers which began appearing separately in 1848, though the issue closest to Christmas itself had always saluted the festivities of the season with special features arranged by Mark Lemon. The Queen's royal progresses invariably occasioned special supplements and double numbers, and frequently illustrations of these visits were reprinted as a kind of souvenir of the event and offered for sale in an appropriate wrapper--a "beautiful Tartan Wrapper," for example, protected the journal's reprint of illustrations of the Queen's Highland tour in 1842.[150] The journal's first triple number was devoted to the exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1849, and in 1851 there were a good many supplements that contained nothing more than overflow material from the journal's regular contents. In this year there were, too, the popular Exhibition Supplements. The following year supplements, double numbers, and large prints commemorated the death and funeral of the Duke of Wellington; a series of musical supplements were prepared by Charles Mackay and Sir Henry Bishop to promote the "National Music of England"; and a series of monthly supplements were initiated "to be devoted exclusively to Literature, the Fine Arts, Music, the Drama, and the general history and progress of Science."[151] In fact, the ILN issued so many supplements

and double numbers as it approached the end of its first decade, at such great expense to itself and to subscribers, that it began an active campaign against the "taxes on knowledge"--the stamp tax and the paper and advertisement duties--that made the issuing of extra numbers a costly affair.[152]

But while Ingram may have complained of the cost of the supplements and double numbers, he was obviously investing his money wisely. The journal's special numbers had always occasioned an increased sale: demand for the issues on the French Revolution, for example, temporarily doubled circulation, and Ingram himself was pelted with flour by impatient newsboys, who mimicked the anger of Paris mobs and shouted "à bas Little! à bas Little!" Interest in the Exhibition Supplements added 20,000 permanently to the journal's circulation--bringing it to 120,000 weekly. And sales of the journal's special Wellington numbers reached an unprecedented 400,000 per issue.[153]

The success of the journal can be seen largely in the circulation it commanded. About 26,000 copies, at 6d. each, of the first issue were sold, at a time when The Times sold in the neighborhood of 22,000 daily; the Chartist Northern Star either 35,000-60,000 or 12,000-18,000 weekly, depending on whether one believes the paper itself or the stamp returns; the Penny Magazine over 100,000.[154] Sales of the ILN's second issue dropped, probably to about 20,000, but rose gradually thereafter.[155] In September, with a figure of about 24,000, the paper announced that its circulation was second in the kingdom--to the Weekly Dispatch, a well-established weekly known for its radicalism in politics, the sensational

cast of its news, and its reports of prize fights--but first in respectability.[156] When stamp returns for the last quarter of 1842 were published, the ILN boasted that, with its December issues averaging a sale of 66,000 each, it had outstripped the Weekly Dispatch, which promptly retorted that the ILN had purchased extra stamps to deceive the public.[157] The ILN also experienced an inordinately high sale with its Christmas numbers and other special issues, however, and its circulation seems to have settled at about 40,000 to 50,000 for the middle years of the decade.[158] Charles Mackay takes credit for improvements in the paper that pushed its circulation up to 60,000 in the first year of his association with it, but this was 1848, and the upheavals of that single year, and the ILN's illustration of them, most certainly had a good deal to do with this increase.[159] Over the next years circulation continued to climb, and in the early 1850s, with the excitement over the Great Exhibition and the ILN's Exhibition Supplements, sales exceeded 100,000 weekly. In 1852 the Illustrated London News, with a weekly sale of 140,000, had a circulation higher than any other weekly paper and most weekly magazines, with the exception of those, like the London Journal and Reynolds's Miscellany, that specialized in sensational fiction.[160] By 1855, just before the compulsory stamp duty was repealed, about 150,000 to 170,000 copies were sold each week; thereafter, with unstamped copies now 5d., the figure reached 200,000.[161]

As with all papers, Ingram's profits came less from sales than from advertisements. In the early months large advertisements for Parr's Life Pills were always prominently placed, but Lemon urged Ingram to

drop them as beneath his professional dignity, and he did. Ingram's policy was to limit the space available for advertisements, usually to one or two pages. Such a policy gave the journal a clever means for refuting the Weekly Dispatch's charge that it had purchased extra stamps:

> The great motive of journals generally to make the appearance of circulation is to promote their advertisement interest--this motive vanishes with us. We have never coveted, but have always limited advertisements, and never will allow them unfairly to encroach upon a space which we have taught ourselves to consider the property of our readers. We have refused hundreds of advertisements during our brief but prosperous career, and can refer, though it be somewhat ungracious, to those whose favours we have been obliged to decline.

But this policy was not as self-denying as the journal could make it sound, for it allowed Ingram to charge premium rates. And there seems to have been keen competition among advertisers for space in the ILN; advertisers were advised to place reservations two or three days in advance of the Thursday evening deadline. In addition, increasing circulation brought increased rates; in 1844 the ILN announced that it would charge advertisers 7s. for the first four lines, and 1s. 3d. for each additional line. Despite the heavy cost of producing an illustrated journal--one contemporary estimated that illustrations cost £3 per square inch--profits on the ILN were considerable, ranging from £12,000 to £16,000 a year. The provincial printer was soon a wealthy man.[162]

Ingram's profits, and his skill in managing all aspects of the journal, enabled him to crush his rivals and to build, in time, a publishing empire out of illustrated journalism.

Imitation of a novel and successful enterprise like the Illustrated London News was not--in this era before significant copyright protection--long in coming, and it came, predictably, from Edward Lloyd. Lloyd, a father of the cheap press, was a journalist of liberal opinion and a trend setter in imitative publishing. He had issued the Penny Pickwick hard on the heels of Dickens's Pickwick Papers and followed with a host of cheap imitations of Dickens and other popular writers such as Harrison Ainsworth and Henry Cockton; with his Penny Sunday Times and People's Gazette he had taken to imitating established periodicals--in this case the Sunday Times--as well. In September 1842 he commenced Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper with the avowed purpose of competing with the ILN. Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper presented, in its eight pages, theater and literary reviews, fiction, fictitious police court cases, and wood engravings; it was unstamped, and sold for 2d. Like Ingram, Lloyd promoted his journal with novelty, plastering advertisements on walls, trees, and fences throughout the country and even paying his workmen with coins on which the name of the journal had been stamped, until an act of Parliament ruled this defacement illegal. In about seven weeks the paper ran into trouble with the stamp commissioners, who, citing its report of an escaped lion, ordered that it be stamped or stopped. Lloyd chose to stamp it, and the paper continued to appear, but as Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper, containing news, lengthy reviews, and no illustrations. Throughout the 1840s Lloyd's, now at 3d., found a large sale, up to 60,000 weekly, among the working classes. Lloyd expanded and moved to Salisbury Square in 1843, where his presses poured forth in

addition a great many works of fiction at popular prices and cheap periodicals like Lloyd's Penny Weekly Miscellany and Lloyd's Penny Atlas, and Weekly Register of Novel Entertainment, but none was illustrated.[163]

A second paper begun in imitation of the Illustrated London News was the short-lived Illustrated Weekly Times, founded, as we have seen, by George Stiff when he was dismissed from the ILN's wood-engraving department. It lasted only a few weeks, from March 11 to April 15, 1843.[164] Illustrated London Life, edited by Renton Nicholson, appeared at the same time, and also succumbed in a few weeks. A year later the Great Gun, edited by Charles Louis Gruneison, lasted for six months, then repeated the pattern of failure. It seems that it was more difficult to maintain an illustrated paper than to start one, and by this time the ILN had a firm hold on the developing market.

The first serious competitor was undertaken by none other than Henry Vizetelly, who "on receipt of a certain sum in lieu of notice," severed connections with the Illustrated London News, noting that "Ingram was one of those men who are swayed by the last person who secures their ear, and . . . it was not worth my while to be constantly dancing attendance upon him." The Pictorial Times: A Weekly Journal of News, Literature, Fine Art, and the Drama made its appearance in March 1843 and had a notable staff. Douglas Jerrold wrote the leading articles--on social topics, for party politics was eschewed. W. M. Thackeray served as literary and art critic, and Mark Lemon wrote the theatrical reviews. Peter Cunningham contributed a column of art criticism and of anecdote of literary celebrities, and Gilbert à'Beckett a humorous

column. Tom Hood's "Bridge of Sighs" was first printed in this paper. Vizetelly was managing editor, and Frederick Knight Hunt, later editor of the Daily News and one of the first historians of the British press, was sub-editor. The artists included John Gilbert, William Harvey, W. H. Prior, the French caricaturist "Cham," and, a few years later, the young G. A. Sala. The publisher was Andrew Spottiswoode, the Queen's printer. Like the ILN, the Pictorial Times consisted of sixteen pages, cost 6d., and lured subscribers with "pictorial presents." But despite the promise of its staff, the paper was not a success. Its illustrations were at first small and crude, and its text undistinguished. An article in the London Journal laid the faults at the feet of its editor. The political articles, it claimed, were "wishy-washy," its literary reviews "mawkish," its theatrical reviews "deficient in judgment and taste." Though its illustrations had shown considerable improvement, "the public does not choose to buy pictures only." Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory, a few years later, gave an opposite verdict, claiming it was edited "with much care" and contained "articles for all times . . . not to be classed with the literary ephemerae of the day." But the Pictorial Times seems simply not to have caught on. Its circulation hovered around 10,000. Vizetelly sold his share in 1844, and Jerrold, too, ended his connection. The paper survived a few more years, then died unnoticed. It had cost its projectors more than £20,000; in 1845 Ingram picked up the copyright for only a few pounds.[165]

We should not find it surprising that so many of the ILN's contributors, even Ingram's friend Lemon, also contributed to its rival.

Journalistic London was a rough-and-tumble world, where one survived by what means one could, where competition was enjoyed for the game and rivalries taken more seriously in the papers than among the men who wrote for them. Imitation was everywhere, and if one was successful, one was bound to be imitated. Others naturally sought to profit from the path Ingram had carved in illustrated journalism; they even sought to trade in the bonus gifts he offered, and more than once the journal had to caution its readers against the substitution of an "Inferior and unfairly imitative production under the same name." French and German journalists adopted Ingram's model and techniques for L'Illustration and Die Illustrirte Zietung.[166] But Ingram was not only imitated; he was, as we shall shortly see, also an imitator.

With the demise of the Pictorial Times, the ILN enjoyed for a time a virtual monopoly of the field of illustrated journalism, the field it had created. The only possible rival was the Historic Times, later the Illustrated Historic Times, which lasted for little more than a year. But in 1855, with the removal of the stamp tax, there appeared a new crop of potential rivals. Pen and Pencil: An Illustrated Family Newspaper, despite the editorship of the talented W. J. Linton, the contributions of Walter Savage Landor, and firm financial backing, could not compete with its well-established model, and lasted only eight weeks. The Illustrated News of the World (1858-63), was projected by John Tallis, who, angered that Ingram had reneged on his agreement to sell him the ILN for £100,000, decided to found his own illustrated journal. But this was an expensive undertaking, and the paper was, according to

Vizetelly, "a commonplace affair." In the end Tallis lost his fortune and harmed his enemy not at all.[167]

The formidable rival came, once again, from Henry Vizetelly. Like its predecessor, the Illustrated Times had among its contributors many distinguished men--W. M. Thackeray, Augustus Mayhew, Albert Smith, Shirley Brooks, Kenny Meadows, Harrison Weir, George Cruikshank, and Birket Foster--and some rising young men of the day--Sutherland Edwards, James Hannay, Robert and William Brough, Edmund Yates, G. A. Sala, Gustave Doré, and Matt Morgan. David Bogue was the proprietor. "Sad to say," remembered Sala, "Mr. Vizetelly's staff were not very fond of one another. There was a good deal of mutual admiration among us for our respective capacity; but 'chums' we certainly were not." Yet Vizetelly proved an able editor, and the paper was a great success. It had sixteen pages, seven of which were illustrated, and sold for only 2d. When the first issue appeared, on June 9, 1855, the public, who had seen the new venture announced on trees and walls and even stenciled on pavements around provincial exchanges, bought over 100,000 copies, and circulation soon reached 200,000. Sketches of the fall of Sebastopol reached the offices of the Illustrated Times before they arrived at 198, Strand, and the new journal's reports of the sensational Palmer trial were in great demand. It soon had double the circulation of the ILN, which suffered in prestige as well as for being anticipated in the illustration of several important events.

Ingram then set out to crush his competitor by undercutting its sale. He established several cheap illustrated papers of his own, one

or the other of them appearing every week with the front-page illustration on the same subject, and in the same position, as the front-page engraving of the Illustrated Times, a tactic that effectively confused the identity of his rival. Then Vizetelly decided to play Ingram's game, only a little rougher. Hearing that Ingram had decided to stand for Parliament as a Liberal candidate for Boston, and knowing full well how he hated to be reminded of his youthful connection with Parr's Life Pills, Vizetelly designed and sent round to the principal morning papers an advertisement that proclaimed: "Old Parr for Boston. Electors, reserve your votes! Old Parr, supposed to be dead, but whose life has been miraculously preserved by repeated doses of his famous pills, will appear on the hustings on the day of nomination." The advertisements duly appeared in all but the Morning Post, where Ingram had a friend in the printing office, and very early the next day Vizetelly received a visit from William Little, for Ingram had immediately concluded who placed the advertisement, and why. Subsequently Vizetelly aired his grievance, and Ingram, for his part, confessed that a printing ink manufacturer had been supplying him with an early proof of the Illustrated Times. When Vizetelly threatened his next angle of attack, reciting "Pilly Parr oh!" to the popular music hall tune "Billy Barlow," Ingram succumbed. He offered to suppress his cheap illustrated papers, then to buy the Illustrated Times. Shortly after his election in 1856 he purchased a third share, and in 1859 he obtained a controlling interest. At this junction the atmosphere between the two old associates seemed amicable. A friend of Ingram's who was present when Ingram handed over

the check casually asked Vizetelly what he intended doing in the future. "Starting another illustrated paper," Vizetelly replied. In his memoirs he claims this was intended as a jest, but Ingram took him seriously--he had to--and immediately engaged him to edit the Illustrated Times for another five years. But Ingram lowered the quality of the paper so that it would no longer compete with the ILN, and in 1864 it was quietly allowed to die. Vizetelly continued to be associated with the ILN, however, serving as Paris correspondent until the late 1870s.[168]

Thus Ingram and his successors were able either to crush or control all would-be rivals in the field of illustrated journalism for a period of about twenty-five years. The first permanently successful rival to the ILN's monopoly did not come until the founding of the Graphic in 1869, and the subsequent competition between the two, contemporaries said, improved the quality of both.[169]

In addition, profits from the ILN made it possible for Ingram to create a publishing empire in illustrated journalism and to expand into related areas as well. Ingram was, both Mackay and Vizetelly recalled, a "daring," "restless" speculator. Though none of his ventures turned out so well as the Illustrated London News, he was, with his promotional gimmicks, his habit of buying out rivals, and his expansion into other avenues of publishing, the predecessor of Lord Northcliffe, C. A. Pearson, and George Newnes, and other speculative owners of the popular press in the late nineteenth century.[170]

In the spring of 1843 Ingram and Cooke, with Landells and Robert Palmer, the ILN's original printer, put up the capital for the Illuminated

Magazine, a monthly miscellany of essays, tales, and verse, edited by Douglas Jerrold, with George Hodder, later a contributor to Punch, as sub-editor. The prospectus declared that

> figures and objects of every kind there assuredly will be, illustrative of the text in its every variety of essay--narrative--history--of social right and wrong--of the tragedy of real life, as of its folly, its whim, its mere burlesque. These "illuminations"--for we use the word in its original, and not its conventional, sense--though colourless, will be so placed and scattered, that literature may, it is hoped, reveal new graces by the pure light of art.

Phiz, Leech, Meadows, Gilbert, Harvey, Hine, and Sargent were engaged to provide the illustrations, and Linton did a good deal of the engraving. R. H. Horne wrote on child labor and the game laws, Lemon and Albert Smith provided comic pieces on middle-class manners, and Wilkie Collins made his literary debut with "The Last Coachman." Jerrold, as always, championed the poor and oppressed in the editorial columns. Though his style of writing, his sub-editor later commented, was not really adapted to appeal to the "great uneducated," his sympathies were clear and firm. "It has been the wish of the proprietors of this work," Jerrold declared in the preface to the first volume, "to speak to the Masses of the people; and whilst sympathizing with their deeper and sterner wants, to offer them those graces of art and literature which have too long been held the exclusive right of those of happier fortunes." Although the promise of the journal's title disappointed, for only the title page was printed in colors, the new periodical was well received. But Jerrold soon had his eye on a more ambitious project--ultimately Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine--and he resigned his editorship at the close of the third volume, October 1844. W. J. Linton succeeded

him, and stepped up the political content of the journal, though, keeping in mind his middle-class, family audience, he limited the scope of his domestic commentary to "safe" subjects like the game laws. But it was clear that the magazine was dying, and he resigned before it ceased publication, in November. At this juncture a letter he wrote to Camilla Toulmin, the novelist, is particularly revealing of the position of Ingram and Cooke in this literary venture:

> My engagement with the magazine ended somewhat abruptly, but I am on perfectly good terms with the proprietor who, for a mere money-grubber, is by no means the worst of that stolid class. I feel, however, sensibly relieved by withdrawing from the work; it kept me from higher and better labour, and I was constantly trammelled by indecision and ignorance. Mr. Ingram's partner thinks himself literary, and will I believe edit. If I can judge correctly of his taste, it will not long survive his intelligence. He has a notion that contributions are to be got for nothing, and so they are, and when got are worth exactly what is paid for them.

Evidently the partners were unwilling to back the Illuminated to the extent they supported the ILN; its undertaking was a mere side venture.[171]

On January 1, 1847, there appeared a new comic periodical, the Man in the Moon, launched by Albert Smith, "with the express purpose," remarked Spielmann, "of making himself obnoxious to Punch in general and Jerrold in particular." Ingram was for a time the proprietor of this journal. It is not certain that he supported it from the beginning, but his friend Jabez Hogg was its cashier and John Lash Latey, also in his employ, suggested its title. Smith and his co-editor, Angus B. Reach, gathered a creditable list of contributors that included former Punch men like Stirling Coyne, Horace Mayhew, John Oxenford, H. G. Hine, and Phiz, and some up-and-coming young men like Robert and William Brough--

Barnabas Brough convinced them to come to London for the new periodical--Shirley Brooks, Cham, and G. A. Sala, who remembered dining quite festively at Bertolini's with the first check he ever received for his drawings. The journal was cleverly done. Unlike Punch, it barely touched on politics, and focused instead on London life, especially the "fast life" of theaters and other entertainments. Punch seems to have got the better of the rivalry, however, and in time the rivalry itself mellowed--ultimately Brooks joined the Punch table and even Smith and Jerrold were on friendly terms by mid-century. In 1849 the Man in the Moon quietly disappeared.[172]

Spielmann claims that it was Ingram who quietly let this rival to Punch drop, but Ingram was certainly not above sponsoring a competitor to the journal to which he owed so much. In the mid-fifties a bitter trade dispute with Bradbury and Evans determined Ingram to establish a comic paper to rival Punch and cut into its proprietors' profits. He hired the young Edmund Yates as editor, and Yates in turn engaged many of the old Man in the Moon crowd as contributors--Albert Smith, the Brothers Brough, John Oxenford, and G. A. Sala. The "short but merry" career of the penny Comic Times began on August 11, 1855. Robert Brough's "Barlow Papers" were its greatest success; assuming the persona of the hero of the popular comic song, Brough rambled from topic to topic in a variety of verse forms. "We all worked very hard," recalled Yates, but the new periodical did not pay; it wasn't well managed or properly advertised, and "it was hated at the Illustrated News office as an interloper." The Comic Times Almanack, however, published in November to help

boost the periodical, was a great success, and Yates, with all sorts of plans for improvements, sought an audience with Ingram. And Ingram, in fact, wanted to see Yates, "very partick'lar, very partick'lar," but it was Saturday afternoon, and he was leaving for Brighton: could Yates join him for breakfast the following morning? When Yates arrived at Ingram's door, however, he was greeted by Lemon, who tried to bar his entrance. Yates succeeded in shaking hands with his proprietor, but then Lemon, full of smiles, grabbed him again and shook his hand zealously while propelling him out of the room. Lemon, it seems, with "unctuous adroitness," as Yates put it, had healed the breach with Bradbury and Evans and convinced Ingram to drop the rival to Punch. "Lemon's quaint strategy," noted Yates, "merely relieved his patron of the trouble of breaking the news to me." But the contributors, who had come to enjoy each other's company tremendously, decided to go it on their own, and launched the Train, which, though it appeared regularly for two and one-half years, was never very successful.[173]

Two years after the Comic Times episode, in 1857, Ingram and McMurray, a paper manufacturer, purchased the London Journal from George Stiff for £24,000. Stiff's rival to the ILN had failed, but his London Journal, a cheap illustrated weekly devoted to tales and serialized fiction, with a specialty in translations from the French, had been a great success. Circulation exceeded 50,000, and profits were £10,00 to 12,000 a year. Ingram put Lemon in the editorial chair and sought to alter the periodical's tone by serializing the Waverley novels in its pages, though a novel by Pierce Egan the younger, formerly the editor, ran

concurrently. Kenilworth was proclaimed a "signal success," but circulation was dropping so precipitously that Ivanhoe was discontinued, and Lemon resigned the editorship. The journal continued until 1912, though not in Ingram family hands.[174]

Ingram capitalized newspaper ventures as well. In 1846 the Daily News was launched, with Charles Dickens as editor and a distinguished list of highly paid contributors, as a cheap competitor to the liberal Morning Chronicle. It was printed by Bradbury and Evans; its projectors and backers included Sir William Jackson, Sir Joshua Walmsley, Sir Joseph Paxton, and, Vizetelly claims, Herbert Ingram. Despite Dickens's brief tenure as editor, the new paper was quickly established and very successful.[175] More certain is Ingram's connection with the Lady's Newspaper, launched by Landells in 1847. The Lady's Newspaper specialized in fashion; G. A. Sala, who did some of the drawings, recalled the familiarity he was obliged to acquire with "frills, flounces, and furbelows." In early 1848 Ingram amalgamated the Lady's Newspaper with the Pictorial Times, which he had carried on as a weak sister to the ILN for three years. But it was still not a paying property, and it was ultimately absorbed by S. O. Beeton's Queen, which, later in the century, could rely on large drapery and furnishing firms to purchase advertising space.[176]

In 1847 Ingram determined on the largest of all his publishing ventures, next to the Illustrated London News. He decided to establish a daily paper, "a strictly liberal, if not radical journal," Mackay remembered, "to advocate all liberal measures, but more especially the

abolition of the punishment of death for all crimes whatsoever--murder and high treason both included." As editor he engaged Thomas Hodgskin, formerly of the Morning Chronicle. Hodgskin had general supervisory responsibility for the paper and wrote leading articles on economic and commercial subjects; for articles on foreign politics Ingram selected Charles Mackay. He took publishing offices in a quaint old house at 183, Fleet Street, and on February 1, 1848, launched the London Telegraph. The new paper was innovative in several respects: its price was 3d., while most dailies were still charging 5d.; it was published at noon, so as to include later intelligence than the morning papers, while anticipating the evening papers by several hours; it was the first English daily to follow the French practice of presenting its readers with an original novel serialized in its pages--Albert Smith's Pottleton Legacy; it was printed, most likely, on Little's Double-Action Printing Machine; and bills, highlighting announcements of great importance, were stuck up in the window of the journal's office. When news of the upheavals in Paris later that month reached London, a great crowd gathered in front of the London Telegraph's office to read that "the Republican Red Flag now waves over Paris!!" and that the royal family had fled. But despite its merits and innovations, many of which, including its name, were later adopted, the paper could not be made to pay. "The rapid growth of the Illustrated London News," commented Charles Mackay, "had accustomed him [Ingram] to success." He had "expected it, like Jonah's gourd, to grow up in a night." Having lost several thousand pounds on the Telegraph, Ingram resolved to discontinue it. On May 15 the size

was reduced, and on July 8, with the concluding chapter of The Pottleton Legacy, the London Telegraph ceased publication. No doubt the heavy stamp and paper taxes had much to do with the paper's not showing an immediate profit, and Ingram afterwards became an active exponent of their removal. But he blamed the paper's failure on Hodgskin's overuse of the word "bureaucracy": "'Bureaucracy! bureaucracy!' he exclaimed in irate tones. 'Such a word is enough to damn any newspaper, and it has damned the Telegraph!'" Mason Jackson, however, felt in this instance that Ingram had an idea whose time had not yet come. The era of the cheap, daily papers was still a decade off. In 1855 the Daily Telegraph succeeded where Ingram had failed.[177]

Ingram's periodical and newspaper ventures were, with the exception of the Illustrated London News, by and large unhappy. He was much more successful in expanding into book publishing. Ingram and Cooke had published popular almanacs from the beginning of their establishment in London. Old Moore's Almanack, designed primarily to promote Parr's Life Pills, was succeeded in 1843 by the Best Penny Almanack. Then, in 1845, Ingram followed the precedent of Punch and other periodicals that sponsored almanacs which traded on their good names and the talents of their regular contributors. Jabez Hogg was appointed to supervise the Illustrated London Almanack, which appeared annually from this time on. The first edition contained "a Frontispiece and 12 Allegorical Illustrations of the Months, designed by Kenny Meadows, and engraved by Linton," and, like all popular almanacs, verses and illustrations of the seasons and a great variety of "useful" information such as lists of the kings of

England since the Conquest, the members of the royal household, the sovereigns of Europe, and the governors and directors of the Bank of England; the correct forms for addressing the nobility; the hours of operation of various courts and public offices; tables of England's wars, weather, households, occupations, railway and omnibus regulations; parcel rates; taxes; and domestic inventions, remedies, and hints. The almanac was printed in colors, and, advertisements claimed, entitled "to a place upon every drawing-room table in the empire." Over the years many of the contributors to the ILN were also to be found in the Illustrated London Almanack, notably James Glaisher, who always prepared the astronomical department; Meadows, Harvey, Doyle, and Foster, who supplied calendar illustrations, and Vizetelly, Linton, and the Dalziels, who engraved them; and Thomas Miller, who wrote a good deal of the text. Sales were excellent; the almanac for 1849 sold over 50,000 copies.[178]

In 1847 Ingram and Cooke ventured into more permanent book publication with the Illustrated New Testament, the Authorized Version with over sixty illustrations by Meadows and other "Eminent Artists," a large copper-plate map of the Holy Land, descriptive and historical notes, all for 2s. 6d. The next year William A. Chatto's History and Art of Wood-Engraving, which had appeared in the ILN over several months in 1844, was reissued, "with corrections and additions," in four parts, costing 2s. 6d. each. Later that year it was issued again, this time with engravings, as a Christmas gift book--price, one guinea. In 1849 and 1850 Ingram and Cooke published, with the assistance of Jabez Hogg, the Illustrated London Spelling Book, the Illustrated London Reading Book, and the

Illustrated London Instructor, which were advertised as well-arranged series of self-teaching lessons, generously illustrated to entice one into learning and to make education more pleasant.[179]

About this time the firm of Ingram and Cooke took up book publishing in earnest. Jabez Hogg recalled that "Mr. Ingram's success in combining pictures with letterpress news of the day led him to project and undertake the publication of a series of illustrated educational works and books of more general interest," but Vizetelly, predictably, claims that it was he and his brother who first suggested to Ingram the establishment of the "National Illustrated Library." A publishing office was taken at 227, Strand, not far from the ILN's office, and a reorganization of the firm put Nathaniel Cooke in charge of the book publishing enterprise, with the assistance of H. W. Dulcken and Ebenezer Ward, afterwards a partner in the publishing firm of Ward, Lock, and Co.[180] On the model of the "libraries" that London's publishers had ventured for the past two decades--series of works of fiction and nonfiction, often "classics" and noncopyright material, published regularly, in a standard format and at a popular price--the "National Illustrated Library" was projected in 1851:

> The age in which we live is essentially of a Practical character, and the predominant principle influencing all classes is a marked desire for Cheapness. Cheapness, however, is too often found without excellence, and hence this proposition to supply a deficiency at present existing in the popular literature of this country.
>
> For some time past the projectors of the present undertaking have felt interested in watching the result of an experiment simultaneously made by the London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Book Trades, and, having seen that cheap, and occasionally indifferent literature, "got up" in a most inferior

> manner, will sell, they feel assured that good and judiciously selected works, having the additional advantage of Copious Illustration, being produced with the utmost attention to general excellence, and published at the moderate price fixed upon, cannot fail to secure extensive patronage from the Reading Public.

Volumes in the "National Illustrated Library" were to be "carefully edited" reprints of "masterpieces" and "original works" "upon all subjects of general interest." Each would contain "a carefully Revised Text," "Judicious Explanatory Foot-Notes," "Engravings really illustrating the Text," "A new and legible Type," "Good Paper and Printing," and "Strong and neat Binding." One book would be offered each month, at a price of 2s. 6d., or 30s. a year. First to appear were Boswell's Life of Johnson, Researches in Nineveh, and The English Book of Songs, edited by Charles Mackay. These were followed by, among others, a history of the Mormons, E. W. Upham's Life of General Washington, Henry Cockton's Lady Felicia: A Novel, The Illustrated London Cookery-Book and The Illustrated London Drawing Book of Practical Geometry, The Irish Tourists' Illustrated Handbook for Visitors, Uncle Tom's Cabin by Harriet Beecher Stowe and The White Slave by R. Hildreth, Ida Pfeiffer's Visit to the Holy Land, for which Foster did the illustrations and Evans the engraving and color printing, and Horace Mayhew's Letters Left at the Pastrycook's, one installment of which had appeared in the ILN. The series went to about fifty volumes, which were, according to Vizetelly, who printed the early books and received a "handsome royalty," a "remarkable success."[181]

For 1853 the firm announced the commencement of a second series--the "Universal Library" "of the Best Works of the Best Authors of All

Nations, in All Department of Literature." The books, "printed in a clear, readable type, in double columns, on superior paper, made expressly for this Library," were each to contain two or more "highly-finished" engravings; the price, 1s. Throughout the first part of 1853 various classics--like Scott's Lady of the Lake and Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield--were issued by the "Universal Library," and a review in the ILN hailed the elevation of public taste to which the success of the new series testified. By fall, however, the "Universal Library" was no longer advertised, and announcements of new books in the "National Illustrated Library" were listed as from the publishing house of Nathaniel Cooke, late Ingram, Cooke, and Co. Shortly thereafter, it seems, Ingram and Cooke withdrew from book publishing altogether. In 1858 Charles Mackay reported a good deal of unpleasantness among the old partners, as a consequence of family disputes. The next year, when Mackay resigned, William Little also left the firm, and the two joined to establish the London Review. Nathaniel Cooke retired; many years later he assisted in founding the Graphic.[182]

The outlines of Herbert Ingram's life read more like a novel of the Horatio Alger genre than the experience of class-ridden Victorian Britain of which they are a part. He was a man of humble origins and a meager education, but he had a superb instinct for business management. He made the most of opportunity, and successfully established the world's first illustrated newspaper. His paper gave him wealth, social standing, and political influence, which he used to support legislation and enterprises

that brought central water, sewers, gas lines, streetlights, and the railway to his native Boston. He returned to his home town to purchase Swineshead Abbey, the legendary family seat. Like many newspaper proprietors whose papers brought them into the public eye and into a broad familiarity with public affairs, he entered public life. In 1856 he stood for Parliament as a Liberal from Boston, and was elected, assisted by the campaign efforts of the ILN and Punch staffs. In Parliament he gave active support to the movement for the repeal of the paper duty. His association with John Sadleir, M.P. for Sligo, a prototype of Dickens's Mr. Merdle in Little Dorrit, led to his being sued for payment of bad debts and frauds revealed upon Sadleir's suicide. Though the verdict was guilty, Ingram's association was generally considered innocent. Not so unsullied, if true, was his loan of £1250 to the prosecutor, Edwin James, whereby he escaped a second, much-dreaded cross-examination, but this part of the affair is recorded only by Vizetelly.

Ingram's father had drowned, and Ingram had a lifelong fear of death by water, a fear unassuaged by his reputation as a strong swimmer. As a shareholder of the Great Eastern steamship, Ingram was on board for the maiden voyage when a steam jacket burst in a terrific explosion, killing ten of the crew. Exactly one year later, on September 8, 1860, Ingram was visiting the United States with his eldest son. They had left Chicago on the Lady Elgin for an excursion of the Great Lakes. About 2:00 in the morning, in the midst of heavy seas, the Lady Elgin struck the schooner Augusta, and several hundred lives were lost, Ingram and his son included. The superstitious among the people of Boston later

connected Ingram's sudden death with the appearance in the town of an "ominous bird," a cormorant that arrived at the very hour and perched on the high tower of old St. Boltolph's for three days. Ingram's body was returned to Boston and buried with elaborate ceremony on October 5. A statue of Ingram, by Alexander Munro, was later erected in the Market Place, where less than forty years before he had served as a printer's apprentice.[183]

Ingram's remaining sons were still in school at his death, so his widow managed the Illustrated London News for the next twelve years. In 1872 William and Charles Ingram succeeded to control. William Ingram, afterwards Sir William, had been educated in Cambridge and twice held his father's seat in Parliament. In 1900 his son, Bruce Ingram, became editor of the journal, while Charles Ingram remained as managing director until his death in 1931. Bruce Ingram died in his sixty-third year as editor, in 1963; he was succeeded, but only for a few years, by his cousin Hugh Ingram. In 1961, however, the Illustrated London News had passed from Ingram family hands and become a part of Thomson Enterprises. The new proprietors announced that, as "the development of television and other improvements in international communications had removed the prime justification for the magazine's weekly frequency," the Illustrated London News would henceforth appear once a month. Herbert Ingram's illustrated newspaper survives today as a monthly magazine.[184]

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Charles Knight, Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century, With a Prelude of Early Reminiscences (1864; rpt. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), III, 244.
2. See Joseph Hatton, Journalistic London, Being a Series of Sketches of Famous Pens and Papers of the Day (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882), p. 222; Charles Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections of Life, Literature, and Public Affairs: From 1830 to 1870 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), II, 63; Mackay, Through the Long Day: or, Memorials of a Literary Life during Half a Century (London: W. H. Allen, 1887), I, 353; ILN, 27 May 1843, p. 347. More than a decade later the establishment of an illustrated newspaper was still considered a "perilous undertaking." See Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 21 June 1856, p. 17. See also Allan Bott, "Three Generations of the Illustrated London News," ILN, 30 Apr. 1932, p. 676; and Arthur Bryant, "Our Notebook," ILN, 16 June 1951, p. 972.
3. Clement K. Shorter, C.K.S.: An Autobiography, ed. J. M. Bulloch (N.p.: privately printed, 1927), p. 69; Progress of British Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century, Illustrated (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, n.d.), p. 45; Mason Jackson, The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress (1885; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), pp. 300-02, 307. See also Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, Masters of English Journalism: A Study of Personal Forces (1911; rpt. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1970), pp. 228-29; Jabez Hogg, "Reminiscences of the Late Herbert Ingram, Founder of the Illustrated London News," ILN, summer number 1892, pp. iii, iv.; Edmund Yates, Fifty Years of London Life: Memoirs of a Man of the World (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1885), p. 199; and the comments on the "spirit" necessary to establish an illustrated weekly by William A. Chatto, "Wood-Engraving: Its History and Practice," ILN, 22 June 1844, p. 406.
4. There is one indication to the contrary--Hatton, Journalistic London, pp. 222-23; this is specifically refuted by Henry Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner, 1893), I, 238. See, too, Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 353; and [Clement K. Shorter], "The Founding of the Illustrated, May 14th, 1842: A Chapter in the History of Journalism," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 582.
5. Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii.
6. See Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 291, 300; ILN, 18 June 1842, p. 86; 23 July 1842, p. 176; 27 Aug. 1842, p. 255; 17 Sept. 1842, p. 294; 1 Apr. 1843, p. 224; 22 Apr. 1843, p. 272. Figures that appear in the various ILN anniversary issues vary slightly, all following [Shorter], "The Founding of the Illustrated," p. 582, who gives the figure of 40,000 throughout the first year, and up to 60,000 thereafter. See also the discussion of circulation later on in the chapter.

7. ILN, 10 Sept. 1842, p. 278; see also W. H. Smith, "The Early Days of the Illustrated London News," introd. to Panorama, 1842-1865: The World of the Early Victorians as Seen through the Eyes of the Illustrated London News, comp. Leonard De Vries (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), pp. 10-11; and Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii.
8. For actuality drawings and magazine-class illustrations, see M. H. Spielmann, The History of Punch (1895; rpt. New York: Greenwood, 1969), p. 479; and William Gamble, "Newspaper Illustrations," in Penrose's Pictorial Annual, III (London: Penrose, 1897), 20. Gamble reports that even decades later so-called illustrated newspapers still relied heavily on illustrations of the magazine class, prepared some time in advance.
9. Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 237; M. H. Spielmann, "Art Journalism--Then and Now," ILN, summer number 1892, pp. xii.
10. Michael Wolff and Celina Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines," in The Victorian City: Images and Realities, ed. H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), II, 562.
11. Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii. Spielmann attests to the use of methods described in the next three paragraphs.
12. Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 232. This routine is also described in Forrest Reid, Illustrators of the Sixties (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928), p. 20; and C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," Magazine of Art, 13 (July, Aug., Sept. 1890), 300-01; and David Williamson, "How We Keep Shop: The Working of a Great Newspaper--The Illustrated London News," Minster, 2 (Aug. 1895), 185.
13. C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 301; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii. Some of the ILN's drawings of the French Revolution were done on the scene by French artists. See Peter Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," ILN, 13 May 1967, p. 42; and Wolff and Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines," n. 30. For the Royal Academy banquet sketches, see Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 350.
14. Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 312. For other efforts at preparing illustrations in advance, see William Simpson, The Autobiography of William Simpson, R.I. (Crimean Simpson), ed. George Eyre-Todd (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), pp. 19-20, 319-20.
15. Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 233; ILN, 31 Dec. 1842, p. 534; see also C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," pp. 300-01.
16. ILN, 18 Oct. 1845, p. 244; 7 Mar. 1846, pp. 160-61; 14 Mar. 1846, p. 174.
17. Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; see also Knight, Passages of a Working Life, III, 246.
18. ILN, 7 June 1845, p. 358; 8 July 1848, p. 8; see also chapter 2.
19. For Landells's early association with the ILN, see George Dalziel and Edward Dalziel, The Brothers Dalziel: A Record of Fifty Years' Work in Conjunction with Many of the Most Distinguished Artists of

the Period, 1840-1890 (London: Methuen, 1901), p. 6; Edmund Evans, The Reminiscences of Edmund Evans, ed. and introd. Ruari McLean (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 10-15; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. i; W. H. Smith, "Early Days," pp. 10-11; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 234n.; see also the article on Landells in the Dictionary of National Biography. For Landells's sketches of the Queen's Highland tour, see ILN, 3 Sept.-8 Oct. 1842; to Walmer Castle, ILN, 19-26 Nov. 1842, and the announcement of 12 Nov. 1842, p. 422.

20. For the Queen's patronage, see Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, and Evans, Reminiscences, p. 10; see, too, ILN, 28 Sept. 1844, p. 198. For the Queen's visit to France, see ILN, 9-30 Sept. 1843; and the announcement of 2 Sept. 1843, p. 150.
21. Mackay, Through the Long Day, II, 34-38. See also ILN, 20 Nov. 1852, p. 427, where it is recorded that the "official personages" connected with the Duke of Wellington's funeral were "courteous and helpful." For an official refusal to the ILN, see Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 350.
22. Charles Hindley, The History of the Catnach Press, at Bewick-upon-Tweed, Alnwick and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in Northumberland, and Seven Dials (1887; rpt. Detroit: Singing Tree, 1969), pp. 259-60; Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 317, 320; Simpson, Autobiography, pp. 34-35, 233, 270n.
23. ILN, 10 Sept. 1842, p. 278; 14 May 1842, p. 10; 24 Aug. 1844, p. 116; 16 Jan. 1847, p. 37; 28 Feb. 1846, p. 142; 27 Jan. 1849, p. 57; 31 July 1852, supp., p. 81. Artists were dispatched to the Crimea during the war of 1854-56, and from then on the "special" had to be prepared to travel at practically a moment's notice and to endure the rigors of a multitude of climates and terrains and the horrors of the battlefield. In the late century "specials" and war correspondents were often national heroes. See the autobiographies of Melton Prior, G. A. Sala, William Simpson, and Henry Vizetelly, all cited in the bibliography, and, especially, William Simpson, "The Special Artist," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 604.
24. ILN, 16 Aug. 1845, pp. 104-05; 27 Apr. 1844, p. 270.
25. Wolff and Fox suggest that such practice was frequent. "Pictures from the Magazines," pp. 563, 566. They also suggest (p. 563 and n. 30) that at times the same illustrations were used for different events, with a mere switching of the captions.
26. See, e.g., ILN, 24 Aug. 1844, p. 118; 14 Sept. 1844, p. 166.
27. ILN, 31 Dec. 1842, p. 534; 13 July 1844, p. 26; 28 Oct. 1848, pp. 264-66; 25 Nov. 1848, p. 331; 3 Jan. 1846, p. 6. For the sea serpent episode, see also John W. Dodds, The Age of Paradox: A Biography of England, 1841-1851 (London: Victor Gollancz, 1953), pp. 345-46.
28. Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 226; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. i; George Augustus Sala, The Life and Adventures of George Augustus Sala, Written by Himself (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), I, 169.

29. For a description of the preparation of the Colosseum Print, see ILN, 7 Jan. 1843, supp., p. 545. Though published with volume 2, the Colosseum Print and its supplement were intended as a climax to volume 1 and are paginated with the first volume and usually bound with it as well.
30. See, among others, ILN, 12 June 1847, p. 372; 29 Apr. 1848, p. 276; 19 Aug. 1848, p. 109.
31. W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 11; Timothy Johnson, "Faster and Faster Is the Cry," ILN, 13 May 1967, p. 62; Wolff and Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines, p. 563. See also William M. Ivins, Jr., Prints and Visual Communication (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), pp. 107-08; and Geoffrey Wakeman, Victorian Book Illustration: The Technical Revolution (Detroit: Gale Research, 1973), pp. 76-79. As with many new processes, claims to priority and the details of each development vary slightly from source to source.
32. C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Rise," Magazine of Art, 12 (Jan., Feb., Mar. 1889), 104; C. Mitchell, The Newspaper Press Directory: Containing Full Particulars Relative to Each Journal Published in the United Kingdom and the British Isles; Together with a Complete Guide to the Newspaper Press of Each County, etc., etc., etc. (London: C. Mitchell, 1847), p. 98; Charles Dickens, Bleak House (1853), ch. 33; "Looking into the Middle of the Week," Punch, reprinted in ILN, 22 July 1848, p. 38. On the ILN's illustrations of the French Revolution, see also note 13 above.
33. See ILN, 22 July 1848, p. 38; and 8 Apr. 1843, p. 241, where a comment by a contemporary on the ILN's "usual foresight in anticipation of events" is regarded as "slander." The journal could abide, however, the gentle spoofing by one of its own contributors. See Albert Smith's "Everybody's Column," ILN, 26 Dec. 1846, p. 413, discussed in detail in chapter 5.
34. ILN, 10 Mar. 1849, pp. 151-52; 22 Mar. 1845, p. 182; 19 Feb. 1848, p. 100; 30 Jan. 1847, pp. 71-72.
35. For the modifications wrought by these methods, see Henry Blackburn, The Art of Illustration, rev. J. S. Eland (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1901), pp. 66-67; Ivins, Prints and Visual Communication, pp. 98-99; Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 317-25; Simpson, Autobiography, pp. 193, 270n.; Wolff and Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines," pp. 562-64. The original sketches can be compared with the illustrations as they appeared in the ILN in Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 318-19; and Simpson, Autobiography, plates between pp. 270 and 271. Blackburn argues for a clearer distinction in illustrated papers between "pictorial records of events" and "pictures of the highest class." Art of Illustration, pp. 15-16.
36. Wolff and Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines," pp. 563-68. On the habit of not drawing from life, see also Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, pp. 41-42; and Spielmann, History of Punch, p. 430.
37. Clement K. Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," Contemporary Review, 75 (Apr. 1899), 485. Jackson,

Pictorial Press, p. 307, makes a similar point.

38. Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 291, see also pp. 355-56; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; see also Bott, "Three Generations of the Illustrated London News," p. 676; Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, p. 72; Hatton, Journalistic London, p. 226; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 356; Reid, Illustrators of the Sixties, pp. 20-23; David Williamson, "How We Keep Shop," p. 185, Williamson is the late-century commentator. The Dalziels feel that the figure of 30,000 is inflated. Brothers Dalziel, p. 80. General information on artists and engravers that follows is taken from standard references--primarily the Dictionary of National Biography; also Bryan's Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Artists and Engravers, Cooper's Men of the Time, Ottley's Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Recent and Living Painters and Engravers; Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, Ward's Men of the Reign, and Webster's Biographical Dictionary, all cited in the bibliography. Nineteenth-century memoirs and other works that have been used are cited separately. The connection of these artists with the ILN is authenticated either by attributions or signatures in the journal itself, or in other sources that are cited. For references to the ILN in the DNB and in Frederic Boase's Modern English Biography (1892-1921), I am indebted to Dave Aronson of the University of Massachusetts, who shared some early results of a research project with me.
39. Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 449-50; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 301. "Railway Mania" appeared in the ILN, 11 Oct.-8 Nov. 1845. For more on Crowquill, see chapters 1 and 5.
40. Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, p. 6; Evans, Reminiscences, pp. 10-15; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. i; W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 11; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 15-17, 33-35 (where Jerrold's blast is recorded), 247; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 234n. For Robert Landells, see Cyril Falls, "The Great World War: One Hundred Years of Warfare," ILN, 16 May 1942, p. 574; and "Our Artists--Past and Present," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 591.
41. On Sly and Anelay, see W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 11; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; and Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 232, 234n. On the lawsuit, see ILN, 20 June 1846, p. 394. For the Colosseum Print, see ILN, 7 Jan. 1843, p. 545. Anelay also worked on the large print of Dublin offered to readers a few years later. ILN, 13 June 1846, p. 382.
42. Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," p. 42; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 124; Wolff and Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines," n. 22.
43. Some Neglected Friends," ILN, summer number 1892, p. vii.
44. Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, pp. 16-17, where he is given as J. Prior; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 234. For Melton Prior, see his autobiography, Campaigns of a War Correspondent, ed. S. L. Bensusan (London: Edward Arnold, 1912).

45. Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 334; see also ILN, 7 Jan. 1843, p. 545. Dickes is variously spelled Dix, Sargent both Sergent and Sergeant.
46. Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, p. 38; Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 296, 298; William James Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, 1820 to 1890: Recollections (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), pp. 55-56; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 356; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 15, 446; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 134. The "Dram Drinker" appeared in ILN, 6 May 1848, p. 298.
47. Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 295, 296, 302, the quotation is from p. 295; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 238; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," pp. x, xi. See also C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," pp. 334, 300.
48. Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; ILN, 31 Dec. 1842, p. 529; 1 Apr. 1843, p. 224; 22 Apr. 1843, p. 272. Circulation is discussed in a later section of this chapter. The journal's readership is discussed in chapter 3.
49. Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, pp. 15-16; Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 251, 355-56; Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, p. 55; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 356; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 444-45; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 17.
50. George Hodder, Memories of My Time, Including Personal Reminiscences of Eminent Men (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1870), pp. 76-77; Athol Mayhew, A Jorum of Punch with Those Who Helped Brew Up, Being the Early History of "The London Charivari" (London: Downey, 1895), pp. 69-70; "Our Artists," p. 591; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 414-17, the quotation is from p. 416.
51. Henry Silver, "The Art-Life of John Leech," Magazine of Art, 16 (Feb. 1893), 115-16; Thackeray is quoted in Susan Briggs and Asa Briggs, eds., introd. to Cap and Bell: Punch's Chronicle of English History in the Making, 1841-61 (London: Macdonald, 1972), p. xx, see also pp. xx-xxii; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 356, see also Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 303-04; the biographer is Frederic George Kitton, John Leech, Artist and Humourist: A Biographical Sketch (London: George Redway, 1883), p. 20. See also Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, pp. 59-60; "Our Artists," p. 591; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 135-37; and Edmund Yates, Fifty Years of London Life, pp. 322-23.
52. Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 454-58, the quotation is on p. 458. See also Hodder, Memories of My Time, pp. 78-79.
53. Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850: A Study of the Literature Produced for the Working Classes in Early Victorian Urban England (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 15; "Our Artists," p. 591.

54. Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 357; "Our Artists," p. 591. For "Agricultural Pictures," see ILN for 1845 and 1846; the Shakespeare number was the issue for 18 Sept. 1847.
55. Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 356-57; see also Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, p. 182; "Our Artists," p. 591; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. x; and Spielmann, History of Punch, p. 498.
56. Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 352; Evans, Reminiscences, pp. 10-14, 22-24, 34-35, the quotation is from p. 22; ILN, 25 Aug. 1849, pp. 137-38. See also Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, pp. 138-72; Hodder, Memories of My Time, pp. 77-78; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 356; and Mayhew, A Jorum of Punch, pp. 70-71. "Watering Places of England" appeared from 1849 through the early 1850s.
57. Falls, "The Great World War," p. 574; Hatton, Journalistic London, p. 227; George Somes Layard, The Life and Letters of Charles Samuel Keene (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1893), pp. 33-34; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 356; "Our Artists," p. 591; Spielmann, History of Punch, p. 479.
58. Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 479-90, the quotation is on p. 479; see also Layard, Charles Samuel Keene, passim, particularly pp. 33-34 and 143; and "Our Artists," p. 591.
59. Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 356; see also Falls, "The Great World War," p. 574; Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 356; "Our Artists," p. 591; Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," p. 487; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 391.
60. For Beech, see C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 334; for Carmichael, see Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," p. 42; for Gavarni, see Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life and the World Can Show," p. 42; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 338; Wolff and Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines," n. 30; and ILN, 8 Jan. 1848, p. 12; for Clayton, see Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, pp. 114-16; for Crowe, see Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," p. 42; and Falls, "The Great World War," p. 574; for Dodgson, see Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 357; and "Our Artists," p. 592; for Herring, see Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, p. 56; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 356, where he is mistakenly named Benjamin Herring; and "Some Neglected Friends," p. vii, where he is called G. E. Herring; for Huart, see Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 357; and C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 334; Huart's association with the journal may have begun after the first decade; for Mahony, see Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 107; for Paton, see Samuel Carter Hall, A Book of Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age, From Personal Acquaintance (London: Virtue, 1871), pp. 319-20; and Hall, Retrospect of a Long Life, From 1815 to 1883 (New York: D. Appleton, 1883), p. 467; for Phillip, see Spielmann, History of Punch, p. 412; for Scott, see C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 334; for Sulman, see "Some Neglected Friends," p. vii; for

Topham, see "Our Artists," p. 591; for Weedon, see Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 356; and "Our Artists," p. 592; for Williams, see C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 334; the "New House of Lords" appeared ILN, 17 Apr.-15 May 1847; for Wilson, see "Our Artists," p. 591; and Spielmann, History of Punch, p. 498. The contributions to the ILN of the others mentioned in this paragraph are verified by signatures or citations in the journal itself.

61. The following names also appear on illustrations in the journal's first decade: M. Baugniet, a "Belgian artist"; Condy [the elder or younger Nicholas Condy? or both?]; W. E. Donnell; Horace Harrel; W. M'Connell; Marshall [Charles Marshall, the scene painter? or Thomas Falcon Marshall, the artist?]; H. S. Melville; G. P. Nicholls; Pickersgill [Frederick Richard? Henry Hall? or Henry William?]; Stockdale; and J. W. Whimper. Some may have been engravers rather than artists, or served the journal in both capacities.
62. Joseph Pennell, "The Making of Illustration: The Art of the Last Fifty Years," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 584; Pennell, "A New Profession Wanting Professors," Contemporary Review, 58 (July 1890), 121-32; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," pp. xv, xii.
63. Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. i; Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 359, see also pp. 306-07; Knight, Passages of a Working Life, III, 244-45; Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 63.
64. ILN, 10 Sept. 1842, p. 278; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii; W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 11.
65. Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History (London: Cohen & West, 1957), p. 22; James, Fiction for the Working Man, p. 40; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, II, 10; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 336; ILN, 1 July 1843, p. 6; 19 Aug. 1843, p. 118. For Carter, see F. B. Smith, Radical Artisan: William James Linton, 1812-1897 (Totowa, N.J.: M. H. Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), p. 160.
66. Evans, Reminiscences, pp. 8-28, passim; Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, p. 6, passim.
67. Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii. Samuel Williams, an engraver patronized by Harvey, may have engraved for the ILN: so, too, Edward Goodall, known primarily for his engravings of Turner; and John Smith Heavyside, who specialized in the engraving of architectural drawings. For Williams, see C. N. Williams, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 334.
68. M. H. Spielmann, "Three Veterans of Wood-Engraving," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 601. The classic history of wood engraving is John Jackson and William A. Chatto, A Treatise of Wood-Engraving: Historical and Practical, With Upwards of Three Hundred Illustrations Engraved on Wood (London: C. Knight and Co., 1839). Mason Jackson's history is, of course, The Pictorial Press, which has been instrumental in this study.

69. See Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; and Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 234n. The preparation of the view of Paris is explained in the issue for 12 Feb. 1848, p. 84. Copper plates could not, of course, be printed at the same time as the rest of the paper.
70. W. F. Hopson, "Side Lights on William James Linton, 1812-97," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 27 (1933), 74-82; Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, passim, especially pp. 55-57, 68, 77-78, 90, 128, 205; F. B. Smith, Radical Artisan, passim, especially pp. 48-49, 80-81, 159-60, the quotation is from p. 49; W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 9; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii; Spielmann, "Three Veterans of Wood-Engraving," p. 601; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 334.
71. H. R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism (1887; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), II, 297; Hatton, Journalistic London, pp. 236-39; Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," pp. 487-88; Spielmann, "Three Veterans of Wood-Engraving," p. 601; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," pp. 391-92.
72. Spielmann, "Three Veterans of Wood-Engraving," p. 601; Arthur Bryant, "Our Notebook," ILN, 16 May 1942, p. 567.
73. Evans, Reminiscences, pp. 13-14, 20-22; see also Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, p. 68.
74. Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 293-95, 317; ILN, 24 Dec. 1842, p. 518; 7 Jan. 1843, p. 545; see also ILN, 31 May 1851, p. 501, where this "ingenious devision of labour" is commented upon.
75. Preface to volume 4, Jan.-June 1844.
76. Quoted in ILN, 18 June 1842, p. 96. The only edition I have been able to see of this, the journal's sixth number, is a reprint done after September 1842. The last page, which in the original was probably devoted to advertisements, contains compliments from contemporaries, gathered over the course of several months. I have selected for quotation only those obviously written in response to the ILN's first or second issue. These are from little-known, provincial newspapers. For further discussion, see chapter 3.
77. H. A. Innis, "The English Press in the Nineteenth Century: An Economic Approach," University of Toronto Quarterly, 15 (1945), 43. "Speaking to the Eye," Economist, 17 May 1851, p. 533, reprinted in ILN, 24 May 1851, pp. 451-52; Edmund Yates, "On Revient Toujours!" ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 590, where he recalls being sent two proofs of wood engravings and asked to compose appropriate verses. See also chapter 5.
78. Hall, Book of Memories, p. 163; "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. xvii--The Illustrated London News," London Journal, 19 July 1845, p. 328; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 211-18. General information on the journalists, writers, and editors that follows is taken from standard references--primarily the Dictionary of National Biography; also Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and Ward's Men of the Reign, all cited in the bibliography. Nineteenth-century memoirs and other works that have been used are cited separately.

79. Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 239-40; "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. xvii--The Illustrated London News," p. 328, where the name is spelled "Monaghan." In this article the journal's first editor is given as Mr. Ball, the "Censorius" of the Weekly Dispatch, but this is the only instance in which I have found the name of Ball connected with the ILN and in which Bayley is not named as the journal's first editor. The author of this article may have confused the ILN and Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, for Ball is also given as the first editor of that journal. See "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. xviii--Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper," London Journal, 24 July 1845, p. 348.
80. W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 10; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii. On Ingram's personal attention to the paper's management, see especially Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 320; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 354; and Shorter, C.K.S., p. 68.
81. The roles of Cooke and Little will be discussed in greater detail in later sections of this chapter. W. H. Smith, "Early Days," pp. 9-10, records that Cooke's contribution to the paper's first issue cannot be ascertained and suggests that perhaps he remained in Nottingham. See also Bourne, English Newspapers, II, 119; and Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 124, 352.
82. Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 181-92, the quotation is from p. 192; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 240-41. See also Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii; Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, p. 57; and Ralph Straus, Sala: The Portrait of an Eminent Victorian (London: Constable, 1942), pp. 65-69.
83. Hogg, "Reminiscences," pp. i-iv; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 169; "Some Neglected Friends," p. vii.
84. Arthur A. Adrian, Mark Lemon: First Editor of Punch (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 90-95, 161-63; Sir Francis C. Burnand, Records and Reminiscences: Personal and General (London: Methuen, 1904), II, 58; Hatton, Journalistic London, p. 223; R. G. G. Price, A History of Punch (London: Collins, 1957), p. 29; Shorter, C.K.S., p. 69; Spielmann, History of Punch, p. 265; Yates, Fifty Years of London Life, p. 211. Lemon is described in some of these accounts as Ingram's personal secretary, though such a position, as we now understand it, is unlikely for the editor of Punch. Kennedy Jones, Fleet Street and Downing Street (London: Hutchinson, 1920), p. 237, says that Lemon "founded" the ILN with Ingram. W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 9, gives Lemon as Ingram's boyhood friend, but Adrian makes no such definite statement.
85. Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 320-21; Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 305-06; Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, p. 57; Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 66; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 354; "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. xvii--The Illustrated London News," p. 328; "Our Literary Contributors--Past and Present," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 598; Shorter, C.K.S., pp. 67, 69; W. H. Smith,

"Early Days," p. 10; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 86-87; Yates, "On Revient Toujours!" p. 590.

86. See Mackay's two autobiographies: Forty Years' Recollections, passim, especially, I, 258, and II, 62-75, the second quotation is from p. 66; Through the Long Day, passim, especially I, 350-64, the first quotation is from p. 353. See also Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 305; "Our Literary Contributors," p. 598; Shorter, C.K.S., pp. 69-70; and C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 334.
87. Francis Espinasse, Literary Recollections and Sketches (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1893), pp. 240-45, the quotation is from p. 241.
88. Thomas Catling, My Life's Pilgrimage, introd. Lord Burnham (London: John Murray, 1911), p. 97; "Our Literary Contributors," p. 598; R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848: Literacy and Social Tension (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1955), p. 135; David Williamson, "How We Keep Shop," p. 192.
89. ILN, 24 Dec. 1842, p. 528; Catling, My Life's Pilgrimage, p. 2.
90. ILN, 25 June 1842, p. 105; 4 Feb. 1843, p. 71, and supp., pp. 81-88.
91. Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii; Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 66; Mackay, Through the Long Day, II, 215.
92. Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii; "Our Literary Contributors," p. 598.
93. Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 272-79.
94. George Somes Layard, Shirley Brooks of Punch: His Life, Letters, and Diaries (New York: Henry Holt, 1907), pp. 35-36; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 265, 356-60.
95. Adrian, Mark Lemon, pp. 43, 107; Harry Furniss, Some Victorian Men (London: John Lane, 1924), pp. 165-66; Hodder, Memories of My Time, pp. 88, 91, 97; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 350; Mayhew, A Jorum of Punch, pp. 104-08; "Our Literary Contributors," p. 598; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 163-65; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 95-96, 303-06; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 135, 314-22, the quotations are on pp. 315, 319; Yates, Fifty Years of London Life, p. 191, where Jerrold's quip is recorded; Yates, "On Revient Toujours!" p. 590. For Cosmorama, see Hodder, Memories of My Time, p. 76. For "The Ascent of Mont Blanc," see Raymund Fitzsimons, "Albert Smith on Mont Blanc," Cornhill Magazine, 175 (1966-67), 365-77. For Smith's report on Paris, see ILN, 8 July 1848, pp. 12-13; on Rome, ILN, 1 Sept. 1849, p. 154. For more on Smith, see chapter 5.
96. Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 354; Leslie A. Marchand, The Athenaeum: A Mirror of Victorian Culture (1941; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1971), pp. 214-15; Yates, "On Revient Toujours!" p. 590, where Jerrold's quip is recorded. "Stanley Mortimer" appeared in the Christmas number for 1851; for a complete list of the ILN's Christmas features, 1842-52, together with full citations, see appendix 3.
97. Frederick Knight Hunt, The Fourth Estate: Contributions towards a History of Newspapers, And of the Liberty of the Press (London: David Bogue, 1850), II, 281; Layard, Shirley Brooks, pp. 42, 62-66;

Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, I, 143-57, the quotation is from p. 151; II, 151-53; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 166-67; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 280-81; Yates, Fifty Years of London Life, pp. 177-78.

98. Hall, Retrospect of a Long Life, pp. 400-01; Hodder, Memories of My Time, pp. 384-93; Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 278; Robertson Nicholl, "Peter Cunningham," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 602; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 366-68; Mona Wilson, "Travel and Holidays," in Early Victorian England, 1830-1865, ed. G. M. Young (1934; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1951), II, 309-10. On Cunningham's columns and successors, see G. K. Chesterton, "Our Notebook: Tradition and Continuity, The Illustrated London News--1842-1932," ILN, 30 Apr. 1932, p. 672; and Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," p. 44.

99. Thomas Cooper, The Life of Thomas Cooper: Written by Himself (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872), pp. 12-13, 17, 24, 53-54; Evans, Reminiscences, pp. 34-35; James, Fiction for the Working Man, p. 43; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 308-10. "Spring-Time in London" appeared in ILN, 13 Apr. 1850, pp. 247-48; "Frozen-Out Gardeners" in the Christmas number for 1850; the tales and fiction published in the ILN, 1842-52, are listed, together with dates of publication, in appendix 2. For more on Miller, see chapter 5.

100. Thomas Archer, The Highway of Letters and Its Echoes of Famous Footsteps (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1893), pp. 486-87; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 394, 426 n. 2.

101. Archer, Highway of Letters, p. 487; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 170; William Tinsley, Random Recollections of an Old Publisher (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1900), II, 285; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 301, where he is referred to as Lionel Brough.

102. Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 307-08. "The Grocer's Shop" appeared in 1851.

103. Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 354.

104. For Wade's poems, in the order mentioned, see ILN, 29 Oct. 1842, p. 394; 19 Aug. 1843, p. 125; 3 Feb. 1844, p. 66; 17 Feb. 1844, pp. 97-98; 9 Nov. 1844, p. 302; and 30 Nov. 1844, p. 352. For his obituaries, see ILN, 19 July 1845, p. 45; 26 July 1845, p. 58; and 2 Aug. 1845, p. 74. See also W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 10.

105. Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 355; the poem appeared in the ILN, 20 Oct. 1849, p. 266.

106. E. E. Kellett, "The Press," in Early Victorian England, II, 62-65; "Our Literary Contributors," p. 598; Baruch H. Wood, "An Autocrat of the Chess Table," ILN, 13 May 1967, p. 102. C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 334, says that Staunton conducted the ILN's chess column from the first. For more on the chess column, see chapter 5.

107. On the Burns Festival, see Hall, Book of Memories, pp. 319-25; Hall, Retrospect of a Long Life, pp. 467-69; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 259-61; ILN, 27 July 1844, p. 54; 10 Aug. 1844, pp. 88-89, 92-94; and 17 Aug. 1844, pp. 104-08.

108. Hall, Retrospect of a Long Life, p. 197; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 95; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 52, 223, 290; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 304-05. For Anna Marie Hall, see William Chambers, Story of a Long and Busy Life (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1882), p. 75; Hall, Retrospect of a Long Life, pp. 191-92, 244-45.
109. Richard Michael Kelly, Douglas Jerrold (New York: Twayne, 1972), passim, especially p. 117; see also the biographies by Blanchard Jerrold and Walter Jerrold, both cited in the bibliography. "The Sick Giant and the Doctor Dwarf" appeared in 1850.
110. Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 355.
111. Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 355-56.
112. Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 66; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 491-93, the quotation is on p. 492.
113. See appendix 3.
114. See appendix 2; for Bremer, see also Hall, Book of Memories, pp. 411-12; and Hall, Retrospect of a Long Life, p. 371.
115. The contributions of these writers cannot be documented as from the paper's first decade. See Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 63-64; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 354-56; Yates, "On Revient Toujours!" p. 590; "The Druid" was Henry Hall Dixon; see Stella A. Walker, Sporting Art: England, 1700-1900 (London: Studio Vista, 1972), p. 70. Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii, also recalls Clifford, Duncan, and Moore, but not necessarily as early contributors. For Coyne, see also Adrian, Mark Lemon, pp. 29-30; and Harold Hobson, Phillip Knightly, and Leonard Russell, The Pearl of Days: An Intimate Memoir of the Sunday Times, 1822-1972 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972), pp. 40-41. For Power, see Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 295. Other possible contributors to the ILN during its first decade include Grace Aguilar, the novelist and specialist in Jewish culture; E. L. Blanchard, who recorded in his journal on July 1, 1851, that he left a copy of "Absent Friends" at the ILN office, see The Life and Reminiscences of E. L. Blanchard, With Notes from the Diary of Wm. Blanchard, ed. Clement Scott and Cecil Howard (London: Hutchinson, 1891), I, 83; Lady Blessington, the patron of Gore House; Robert and William Brough, the comic writers; Pierce Egan the younger, whom the DNB claims contributed to the early volumes of the ILN; Mrs. Loudon, author of popular botanical books and a contributor to the Illustrated London Almanack; and the quaint, eccentric William Brighty Rands, who is mentioned in "Our Literary Contributors," p. 598; and by David Williamson, "How We Keep Shop," p. 195.
116. Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 305-06.
117. Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," p. 485.
118. Harry Furniss, My Bohemian Days (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1919), pp. 7-8; Furniss, Some Victorian Men, p. 53; Shorter, C.K.S., p. 69; Adrian, Mark Lemon, p. 93; Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 110-11; Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, p. 57; Price, History of Punch, p. 29; Spielmann, History of Punch, p. 265. For jokes in

Punch, see, for example, "Lord Mayor's Day," Punch, 3 (1842), 211-12; and "Extraordinary Longevity," Punch, 4 (1843), 141.

119. Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, pp. 40-41; Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 307; Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 69; but see, too, W. J. Linton's private comments, quoted later in this chapter.
120. Yates, "On Revient Toujours!" p. 590; Yates, Fifty Years of London Life, p. 199; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 222, see also p. 223.
121. On Punch conviviality, see Mayhew, A Jorum of Punch, pp. 94-96, 106-09; and Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 81-86, 94.
122. For the joke on Guys, see Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 124-25; for the joke on Foster, see Evans, Reminiscences, p. 22; the drawing appeared in ILN, 23 Dec. 1848, supp., p. 408; for the rambles and trips, see Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, I, 250-61; II, 76-120, 278; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 357-61; II, 110-17; for the dinners and outings, see Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, p. 40; and Evans, Reminiscences, p. 24.
123. Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii; W. H. Smith, "Early Days," pp. 9-10; Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, p. 57.
124. ILN, 23 July 1842, p. 176; 18 Mar. 1843, p. 184.
125. Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii; W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 11; ILN, 8 Apr. 1843, p. 240; 29 Apr. 1843, p. 288.
126. See, for example, ILN, 10 June 1843, p. 400; 17 June 1843, p. 416; 29 July 1843, p. 70; 23 Sept. 1843, p. 198.
127. W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 11; ILN, 7 Oct. 1843, p. 230; Mackay, Through the Long Day, II, 205. Little is first listed as printer and publisher with the issue for 11 Nov. 1843; he had been listed as publisher since the move to 198, Strand, the previous year.
128. ILN, 2 Dec. 1843, p. 364; see also Johnson, "Faster and Faster Is the Cry," p. 61.
129. ILN, 21 Nov. 1846, pp. 335-36; 9 Jan. 1847, p. 19. See Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 1, where Mackay, reporting Ingram's letter of late 1847 asking him to write for the London Telegraph, says it "was to be printed by some new process, which had been perfected by one of his relatives, [something?] of a mechanical genius." On the London Telegraph, see a section further on in this chapter.
130. ILN, 8 Feb. 1851, p. 94; 8 Mar. 1851, p. 200; 31 May 1851, pp. 501-02; Johnson, "Faster and Faster Is the Cry," p. 62.
131. ILN, 31 May 1851, pp. 501-02; 14 June 1851, p. 549; Eric De Maré, London 1851: The Year of the Great Exhibition (London: Folio Press, J. M. Dent, 1973), not paginated, Victoria's journal is quoted here; Allen Hutt, The Changing Newspaper: Typographic Trends in Britain and America, 1622-1972 (London: Gordon Fraser, 1973), p. 46n.; Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 303.
132. Evans, Reminiscences, pp. 24-28; Jackson, Pictorial Press, 303-04; Johnson, "Faster and Faster Is the Cry," pp. 62-63. For an illustration of the Ingram Rotary Press, see W. J. Gordon, "The Newspaper Printing Press of To-Day," Leisure Hour, 39 (Feb., Mar. 1890), p. 333.

133. W. H. Smith, "Early Days," p. 10; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii.
134. ILN, 7 Dec. 1844, p. 358; 4 Jan. 1845, p. 6.
135. ILN, 31 May 1851, pp. 501-02.
136. See Johnson, "Faster and Faster Is the Cry," pp. 62-63. For details on "imposing" a "sheet of sixteens," see J. D. Symon, The Press and Its Story: An Account of the Birth and Development of Journalism up to the Present Day, With the History of All the Leading Newspapers, Daily, Weekly, or Monthly, Secular and Religious, Past and Present; Also the Story of Their Production from Wood-Pulp to the Printed Sheet (London: Seeley, Service, 1914), pp. 225-26. For information on how other papers used these two separate printings to make possible the addition of late news, see David Ayerst, The Manchester Guardian: Biography of a Newspaper (London: Collins, 1971), pp. 33-34; and Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 260. For an example of an editorial written considerably later than the leader for the issue, see ILN, 12 Aug. 1843, pp. 97-98, 102. For the supplement of late news, see Simpson, Autobiography, p. 319.
137. Simpson recalls that in order to secure an illustration of the completion of the Forth Bridge, which was to take place on a Tuesday, he and an assistant visited the Edinburgh site of the ceremony beforehand, where officials showed them the final arrangements and explained every detail of the coming event. Simpson made his sketches in advance, and his assistant transferred them to the wood blocks he had brought with him. Simpson attended the ceremony, and afterwards quickly corrected the details that he had incorrectly envisioned. The blocks, ready for engraving, were delivered to the ILN office on Wednesday morning, and the illustrations appeared in the issue for that Saturday. Autobiography, pp. 319-20. See also ILN, 28 Oct. 1843, p. 278; and 15 April 1848.
138. Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, p. 68; Furniss, My Bohemian Days, p. 9; see also the quotation from Gilbert in [Shorter], "The Founding of the Illustrated," p. 582.
139. On the various editions, see ILN, 25 June 1842, p. 102; 19 Apr. 1845, p. 246; 3 Mar. 1849, p. 134. Frank Leslie spelled out his arrangements for publication, which were similar to the ILN's. See Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 14 June 1856, p. 6.
140. See ILN, 22 Apr. 1843, pp. 267, 282. See also ILN, 11 May 1844, p. 312, where the editors reinserted an article on "Whitebait" by John Timbs, which "appeared only in a portion of No. 51; it having been removed to make room for the intelligence of the lamented death of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex."
141. On agents and subscriptions, see ILN, 18 June 1842, p. 86; 7 Oct. 1843, p. 239; 22 Apr. 1843, p. 281; 18 May 1844, p. 318; 15 Feb. 1845, p. 102; 30 Dec. 1848, p. 422.
142. See, for example, ILN, 12 June 1852, p. 458; see also 28 Feb. 1852, p. 174. For Ingram in Paris, see Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 307-08.
143. For the sandwich-board men, see chapter 1; for the chartered steamer, see ILN, 12 Nov. 1842, p. 424; and Arthur Bryant, "Our Notebook," ILN,

16 June 1951, p. 972; for the elephant scheme, see C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 301; for the complimentary copies to the clergy, see ILN, 28 Aug. 1842, p. 255, the illustration is on p. 248; for the success of this venture, see ILN, 10 Sept. 1842, p. 278; 23 Dec. 1843, p. 401; Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 307; Symon, Press and Its Story, pp. 213-14; and Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 239.

144. ILN, 7 Dec. 1844, p. 358; see also the advertisement, 20 Apr. 1844, p. 264.

145. "Punch and the Colosseum Print," Punch, 3 (1842), 255; Spielmann, "Art Journalism," p. xii. The "Grand Picture Exhibitions" were first announced ILN, 13 Dec. 1845, p. 374. Dublin appeared with the issue for 6 June 1846; Paris, 22 Jan. 1848; Edinburgh, 8 July 1848; and Rome, 4 May 1850.

146. See the advertisement for the print of the Crystal Palace, ILN, 1 Feb. 1851, supp., p. 88; it appeared with the issue for 24 May 1851. The "Grand Panorama" was announced in ILN, 18 Oct. 1851, p. 494; it appeared with the issue for 3 Jan. 1852.

147. See ILN, 4 May 1850, p. 302; 26 Oct. 1850, p. 330; 1 Feb. 1851, p. 70; 2 Aug. 1851, p. 142. For the interest, and resentment, aroused by the French and German editions, see ILN, 4 Jan. 1851, p. 11; and 17 May 1851, supp., p. 436.

148. ILN, 4 Feb. 1843, supp., pp. 81-88.

149. The crucial debates on the Corn Law were printed in special numbers; see the ILN for 10 Jan. 1846 [paginated and bound with volume 7] and 31 Jan. 1846. The censuses appeared with the issues for 14 Oct. 1843 and 5 Oct. 1844. Supplements on the French Revolution appeared with the issues for 4 Mar. 1848 and 1 July 1848, the latter of which contains a long essay, "History of the Revolutions in Europe," pp. 431-41.

150. See ILN, 8 Oct. 1842, p. 352; also 13 Sept. 1845, p. 166; and 18 Aug. 1849, p. 118. For the ILN's Christmas supplements, see appendix 3.

151. The triple number appeared 26 May 1849; it was billed as the "Grand Treble Number," but actually contained two numbers and an eight-page supplement. Practically every issue for 1852 contains a supplement. See, in particular, the essay for 31 July 1852, supp., p. 81.

152. See, e.g., ILN, 22 Feb. 1851, supp., p. 145; 27 Dec. 1851, p. 766; and numerous leaders and editorials in 1852, e.g., 27 Mar. 1852, pp. 254-55; 24 Apr. 1852, pp. 313-14; 1 May 1852, pp. 329-30; and 15 May 1852, p. 391; see also chapter 4.

153. The flour incident is recorded by Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 302. For circulation during the Exhibition, see ILN, 22 Feb. 1851, supp., p. 145; 11 Oct. 1851, p. 446; 27 Dec. 1851, p. 766. For sales of the Wellington Supplements, see ILN, 4 Dec. 1852, p. 494. Lloyd's Newspaper, a competitor of sorts, was pleased to achieve a circulation of 100,000 for the event. Bourne, English Newspapers, I, 254.

154. For these figures, and comments on the reliability of circulation figures for stamp returns, see Altick, English Common Reader, app.

C. The figure for The Times is from "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. i--The Times," London Journal, 15 Mar. 1845, p. 36.

155. ILN, 18 June 1842, p. 86; 23 July 1842, p. 176; 27 Aug. 1842, p. 255. See also Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 291.

156. ILN, 17 Sept. 1842, p. 294. For the Weekly Dispatch, see Bourne, English Newspapers, II, 101-02; and "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. ii--The Weekly Dispatch," London Journal, 22 Mar. 1845, p. 54.

157. ILN, 1 Apr. 1843, p. 224; 15 Apr. 1843, p. 256; 22 Apr. 1843, p. 272.

158. See ILN, 25 Mar. 1843, p. 218; 23 Mar. 1844, p. 182; and "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. xvii--The Illustrated London News," p. 328.

159. Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 354; Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 302.

160. Richard D. Altick, "English Publishing and the Mass Audience in 1852," Studies in Bibliography, 6 (1954), 9.

161. David Williamson, "How We Keep Shop," p. 197, his figures are derived from an advertisement in Chambers's Journal in 1855. See also Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," p. 42; "A Great Centenary: The Story of the Illustrated London News, First Published on Saturday, May 14, in the Year 1842," ILN, 16 May 1942, p. 572. See also Alvar Ellegård, The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian England, Göteborgs Universitets Årsskrift, Vol. 63 (Göteborg: Almquist and Wiksell, 1957), for a general discussion of circulation; see especially, pp. 3-14, and, for the ILN's circulation of 70,000 in 1881, p. 37.

162. For the response to the Weekly Dispatch, see ILN, 15 Apr. 1843, p. 256; for advertising rates and reservations, see e.g., ILN, 14 Dec. 1844, p. 382; 30 Dec. 1848, p. 431. For Ingram's policy regarding advertisements, see Adrian, Mark Lemon, p. 91; and Hatton, Journalistic London, pp. 223-24; see also Eric G. Underwood, "Ninety Years of Advertising," ILN, 30 Apr. 1932, pp. i, viii. In the 1880s, Hatton notes, rates were as high as 5s. a line. The estimate of the cost of illustrations is from Tinsley, Random Recollections, I, 331. For Ingram's profits, see the article on him in the DNB; his obituary in the Annual Register for 1860, p. 449; and "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. xvii--The Illustrated London News," p. 328. By comparison, one could note that at the same period, profits on Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper were £2,600. "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. xviii--Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper," p. 348.

163. Bourne, English Newspapers, II, 120-22, 125; Catling, My Life's Pilgrimage, passim, especially pp. 43-47; Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction, pp. 13-20; Hatton, Journalistic London, pp. 188-98; James, Fiction for the Working Man, pp. 25-26, 35-39, 51-71; Mitchell, Newspaper Press Directory, p. 106; "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. xviii--Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper," p. 348; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 336. General information on the rivals to the ILN that follows is from the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.

164. Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction, p. 22, ILN, 1 July 1843, p. 6; 19 Aug. 1843, p. 118; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, II, 10; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 336.
165. Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 311-12; Mitchell, Newspaper Press Directory, p. 118; "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London: No. xxiv--The Pictorial Times," London Journal, 30 Aug. 1845, p. 431; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 218, 242-61, 277, 281, the quotation is from p. 242; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 335; J. C. Woollan, "Men of Mark: Sir William James Ingram, Bart.," Caxton Magazine, 3 (July 1902), 130; Wolff and Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines," pp. 573-74. The CBEL incorrectly records that the first issue appeared on March 18, 1844 (not a Saturday) rather than March 18, 1843.
166. For imitations of the ILN, see ILN, 11 Jan. 1845, p. 22; see also 10 June 1843, p. 400; and 20 Jan. 1849, p. 38. For Continental imitators, see Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," p. 486; and Bott, "Three Generations of the Illustrated London News," p. 724.
167. For Pen and Pencil, see Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 312; F. B. Smith, Radical Artisan, pp. 119, 133; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 336. For the Illustrated News of the World, see Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 312; and Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 404.
168. For the Illustrated Times, see, first of all, Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 388-427; II, 5, 13, 60-61, the Old Parr advertisement is quoted I, 424, the final interview with Ingram II, 60-61; see also Harry Furniss, Some Victorian Men, p. 53, who tells a version of this meeting with Vizetelly as "Vitzbluff." And see Bourne, English Newspapers, II, 251-52, 295-96; Hatton, Journalistic London, p. 231; Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 312-13; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 269-77, the quotation is from p. 273; and C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," pp. 336-40.
169. On the Graphic and late-century illustrated papers, see Bourne, English Newspapers, II, 294-98; Hatton, Journalistic London, pp. 231-39; Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 313-14; Shorter, C.K.S., pp. 53-54; Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," pp. 486-89; and C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," pp. 339-40, 391-96.
170. Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 67; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 356; Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 199-206; see also Escott, Masters of English Journalism, pp. 228-29.
171. Evans, Reminiscences, p. 13; Hodder, Memories of My Time, pp. 29-38, the quotation is on p. 36, the preface to volume I is on pp. 35-36; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii; ILN, 8 Apr. 1843, p. 249, where the prospectus is printed; Blanchard Jerrold, The Life and Remains of

Douglas Jerrold (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1889), pp. 238-41; Walter Jerrold, Douglas Jerrold: Dramatist and Wit (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914), I, 345-62, the preface is also quoted on p. 346, the letter from Linton to Toulmin, dated 10 Oct. 1844, is quoted on pp. 371-72; Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, p. 64; Kelly, Douglas Jerrold, pp. 21-22; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 35, 265, 291. For comments on the magazine's steady growth, in an era in which projecting a periodical was a risky business indeed, see the review in the ILN, 4 Nov. 1843, p. 299.

172. Adrian, Mark Lemon, pp. 43, 105; David Anderson, "Studies in Illustrated Journalism: The Rise of the Comic Paper," Magazine of Art, 14 (Mar. 1891), 156; Archer, Highway of Letters, p. 490; Sir Francis C. Burnand, "'Mr. Punch': Some Precursors and Competitors," Pall Mall Magazine, 29 (Jan., Feb., Mar. 1903), 105, 262-65; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii; Layard, Shirley Brooks, pp. 41-42, 45-46; Price, History of Punch, p. 41; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 163-71; Sala, Things I Have Seen and People I Have Known (London: Cassell, 1894), II, 233-34; Spielmann, History of Punch, pp. 265, 306, 417, the quotation is from p. 306; Spielmann, "The Rivals of Punch: A Glance at the Illustrated Comic Press of Half a Century," National Review, 25 (July 1895), 658.

173. Spielmann's claim is in "Rivals of Punch," p. 658. The most complete account of the Comic Times is in Yates, Fifty Years of London Life, pp. 199-214, the quotations are from pp. 211, 212, and 213. See also Adrian, Mark Lemon, p. 108; James Ellis, "The Comic Times," Victorian Periodicals Newsletter, No. 12 (June 1971), 14-15; Price, History of Punch, p. 29; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 277-78; Spielmann, History of Punch, p. 265; Spielmann, "Rivals of Punch," p. 660; and [John Forbes Wilson], A Few Personal Recollections by an Old Printer (London: privately printed, 1896), pp. 85-91. On the Train, see Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 282; and Yates, Fifty Years of London Life, pp. 214-22.

174. Adrian, Mark Lemon, pp. 94-95, the statement on the success of Kenilworth is from Henry Silver's diary, quoted on p. 95; see also Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," p. 42; Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction, pp. 22-23, 35; James, Fiction for the Working Man, pp. 40, 136; Spielmann, History of Punch, p. 264; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, II, 9-11; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 336.

175. On those who subscribed capital for this venture, see Symon, Press and Its Story, p. 186; and Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 424. On the Daily News in general, see Alexander Andrews, The History of British Journalism, From the Foundation of the Newspaper Press in England to the Repeal of the Stamp Act in 1855, With Sketches of Press Celebrities (1859; rpt. 2 vols. in 1, New York: Haskell House, 1968), II, 271-74; Bourne, English Newspapers, II, 140-63; Escott, Masters of English Journalism, pp. 211-14; Charles Pebody, English Journalism and the Men Who Have Made It (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin, 1882), pp. 135-38; Symon, Press and Its Story, pp. 186-91.

176. Bourne, English Newspapers, II, 295; Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, p. 6; Evans, Reminiscences, pp. 12-13; Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 312; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 176; and the articles on Ingram and Landells in the DNB.

177. The fullest account of the London Telegraph is from Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 1, the first quotation is from here; and Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 350-52, the comments on the paper's lack of success and the use of the word "bureaucracy" are from p. 351. See also Bourne, English Newspapers, II, 234-35; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iv; Harold Herd, The March of Journalism: The Story of the British Press from 1622 to the Present Day (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1952), p. 158; Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 308; Symon, Press and Its Story, pp. 195-96; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," p. 334. Walter Wellsman, Fleet Street, 1846-1890 (London: C. Mitchell, 1890), p. 9, recalls the crowds gathered in front of the journal's office. Evans, Reminiscences, p. 20, recalled engraving the drawing by Foster of the offices, which appeared in the ILN, 4 Mar. 1848, supp., p. 155.

178. The Best Penny Almanack is advertised in ILN, 23 July 1842, p. 176. Advertisements for the Illustrated London Almanack appear in ILN, 9 Nov. 1844, p. 294; 3 May 1845, p. 287; 28 Nov. 1846, p. 342; 16 Oct. 1847, p. 246; 10 Feb. 1849, p. 95; 15 Nov. 1851, p. 598; 23 Oct. 1852, p. 334. See also Evans, Reminiscences, pp. 35-36; and Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii.

179. See the advertisements, ILN, 13 Feb. 1847, p. 102; 20 Feb. 1847, pp. 118, 124; 15 Jan. 1848, p. 20; 16 Dec. 1848, p. 374; 28 Apr. 1849, p. 270; 2 Feb. 1850, supp., p. 67; and see the essay on "Popular Education," ILN, 16 Nov. 1850, supp. p. 391.

180. Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iii; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 356-57; Dalziel and Dalziel, Brothers Dalziel, p. 116; Evans, Reminiscences, p. 24; Layard, Shirley Brooks, pp. 125-26; Layard, Charles Samuel Keene, pp. 54-55. The DNB--and Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," p. 42--claims that the partnership with Cooke broke up in 1848, and that Cooke was made head of the book publishing enterprise, but both names, Ingram and Cooke, appear on the books as publishers, and I find no other evidence that the firm was dissolved, and much evidence, in fact, to the contrary. The CBEL, however, lists Ingram alone as the proprietor of the ILN from 1848.

181. See the advertisements, ILN, 15 Feb. 1851, p. 134; 5 Apr. 1851, p. 268; 5 July 1851, p. 6; 3 Jan. 1852, p. 16; 29 May 1852, p. 419; 11 Sept. 1852, p. 198; 20 Nov. 1852, supp., p. 455. See also Evans, Reminiscences, pp. 24-28, 77-78; Layard, Charles Samuel Keene, p. 54; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 357.

182. ILN, 20 Nov. 1852, p. 427, review of the "Universal Library," ILN, 29 Jan. 1853, supp., pp. 82-83; Layard, Charles Samuel Keene, p. 55; Mackay, Through the Long Day, II, 201-12.

183. On Ingram's later life, see Hatton, Journalistic London, p. 169; Hogg, "Reminiscences," p. iv; Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II,

67-75; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 357-64, 384-87; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 345-48; Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years, I, 235-36; II, 60-71; and the articles in the ILN on his death and funeral, 29 Sept. 1860, p. 285, and 13 Oct. 1860, p. 345. For Sadlier as a prototype for Merdle, see Edgar Johnson, Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), p. 888.

184. Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," pp. 43-46; Bott, "Three Generations of the Illustrated London News," pp. 676, 722, 724; "Great Centenary," p. 572; "A History of the Illustrated London News, 1842-1967" [flyer distributed by Copyright and Syndication Department, Illustrated London News], xerox announcement attached to p. 4.

Chapter 3

Knowing What to Leave Out

Herbert Ingram's skill in organizing and managing his enterprise had, as we have seen, everything to do with making the production of an illustrated newspaper technically possible, and much to do with the early success of the Illustrated London News. But newspapers do not become popular simply because they are well managed and well produced; these advantages serve, rather, to guarantee that a good paper, or one that meets a specific need, will not fail. It is the character of the paper that is of the essence.

The paper Herbert Ingram founded had a broad, multifaceted appeal. The Illustrated London News took as its province "the life of the times"; it sought "to keep continually before the eye of the world a living and moving panorama of all its actions and influences." As Bayley announced in the paper's first leader, "whatever the broad and palpable delineations of wood engraving can be taught to achieve, will now be brought to bear upon every subject which attracts the attention of mankind"--politics, foreign affairs, and the pleasures of the people.[1] The formula Ingram started out with was largely that of the old Sunday press: the presentation of the week's news in summary; a liberal, even radical, political orientation, and a focus on amusements and entertainments. But Ingram expanded the scope of his paper, not only to include illustrations, but to include additional features designed to instruct and amuse as well. And this new fare, which is the subject of the next three chapters, was reshaped to cater to the interests of the middle-class families

of the kingdom, instead of to the working classes which for the past three decades had comprised the readership, by and large, of the Sunday press.

Whether at the suggestion of Vizetelly, or out of his own "very large measure of social and moral aspiration," as his widow claimed,[2] or simply because the expense of producing an illustrated paper ruled out a cheap publication appealing primarily to the working classes, Ingram made it clear that his paper was addressed to the middle classes of Britain, and the editors were insistent that the journal's readers were just this sort. Although the ILN from the first championed the poor and the oppressed, as we shall see in detail in the next chapter, "it has not," the editors claimed, "addressed itself to the very classes upon whose condition it reflected--for the readers of this paper are most of them in higher walks of life." The editors were, of course, gratified by the paper's working-class readers and happy about its aristocratic patrons--especially that "considerable numbers" of the paper were taken "within the palace of their Queen." But it was its place in the families of the "strong middle classes" of the kingdom of which they were "exultingly proud."[3] So frequently is the paper touted as a family publication, so repeatedly are its middle-class readers proclaimed, so often is its patronage by the clergy--each of whom had been sent a complimentary copy--affirmed, that the paper's voice in the matter of its readership begins, during its first year, to sound a little shrill. And well it might. For in setting his cap for the middle classes, Ingram had both habit and prejudice to overcome: he had to prove that an organ of

the Sunday press, which since the second decade of the nineteenth century had been directed to working-class readers, was respectable enough for the middle classes, and he had to prove that illustrations in newspapers were neither mere gimmickry nor sheer sensationalism.

Ingram seems to have been as talented in designing the contents of his paper to the tastes and needs of his announced audience as he was in managing it. Ingram had, recalled W. J. Linton, "a kind of intuitive faculty of judging what would please the ordinary public, a perception of that which seemed never to fail." An early historian of the press, T. H. S. Escott, commented on the same quality.

> Better perhaps than any man then living, he saw the popular opening for a journal of essentially domestic interest. To bring contemporary events home to English households, so that they might be realized exactly as they happened, without the need of long descriptions, was his object in starting the Illustrated London News. He took no counsel with literary or artistic experts. His own experience of daily existence in all its aspects among the middle-class families of the kingdom was what was wanted.[4]

From here, it is my intention to consider the contents of the Illustrated London News, first its coverage of the week's news, and then, in subsequent chapters, the journal's opinion on political and social issues and its amusement or entertainment interest. For no matter how broad sweeping the panorama of Victorian life which the ILN took as its province, that panorama was seen from a particular point of view, and herein lies the journal's essential nature. Throughout I shall examine the character of the journal, looking particularly at how its elements were shaped to meet the needs of its announced audience--for the purposes of this chapter on the ILN's reporting of the news, for example, an investigation

of the treatment of crime and criminals is especially enlightening. And I shall consider other aspects and features of the journal that, in addition to its illustrations, gave the ILN its special appeal and its place in the culture of mid-Victorian Britain.

The news content of the Illustrated London News followed the well-established formulas of the daily and weekly press, and changed little over the course of the paper's first decade. News was divided by topic, and presented, without what we today call headlines, in itemized form under column heads that appeared regularly, and often in the same position in each issue of the paper. The basic news content of the ILN was seldom, by the very nature of its currency, accompanied by illustrations, but events of interest that lent themselves to graphic presentation were, of course, the subject of illustrated features in subsequent weeks. Early in the paper's career many of its regular columns were heralded by a small, emblematic woodcut that served, by its appearance week after week, as a kind of logo, but these disappeared after the first year or so, as the journal's ability to produce large cuts of interest expanded and pressures on available space increased. Like all weeklies, the ILN derived most of its news from the daily papers, and denied all responsibility for its accuracy.[5]

Reports on debates in Parliament were the heart of the news for the ILN, as for its contemporaries. When Parliament was not in session, there was simply a dearth of news. "The thinning of the streets might be borne," lamented a leader writer in 1846, "but who shall supply the space left by

the topics that drop out of the newspapers? . . . Has the reader never remarked the importance foreign intelligence assumes immediately after the prorogation of Parliament?"[6] The column entitled "Imperial Parliament" always appeared, when Parliament was in session, on the second page of the paper, the very first of all the news columns. It contained a summary of the week's activities, usually up to and including the Thursday evening before publication. In the late 1840s information on the debates began to be published in greater detail, with a day-by-day account of activities in each house. The parliamentary debates were never illustrated, but many of the journal's illustrated features and special numbers were devoted to parliamentary activities. Members were highlighted in an illustrated series called "Parliamentary Portraits," for example. The journal's first supplement was issued to treat the opening of Parliament in 1843; and during the final debate on the Corn Laws a special supplement printed the entire proceedings. "We hope this will be acceptable to our subscribers," remarked the editors, "and prove to them our determination, at any sacrifice of cost, to give full information on Questions of great public importance."[7] When the new Palace at Westminster was completed in 1847, the ILN featured "a Series of Splendid Engravings of the New House of Lords; from Drawings executed by Authority."[8]

The column on "Foreign Intelligence" directly followed "Imperial Parliament," and when Parliament was not in session it was the paper's first news column. Here events of interest throughout the world were itemized and placed under subheads by country. The news from Paris

usually appeared first, and it is likely that the ILN engaged a correspondent in that city early on to forward reports from the French papers and personal impressions of events. In the mid-1840s, for example, the news from Paris appears in paragraph form as "Parisiana," and is signed "by our own correspondent." It is possible that the ILN had regular correspondents in other European cities, too. General news from the Continent, however, was often forwarded by the Paris correspondent, or, when events of special import were taking place elsewhere, as during the revolutions of 1848, the ILN engaged temporary correspondents and artists for the duration or made use of its volunteer contributors.[9] Events in Ireland and the colonies sometimes appeared under "Foreign Intelligence," sometimes separately, as did news from India and the Far East, which was placed under the head "Overland Mail" for the week of its arrival. There were occasionally illustrations of significant events in foreign lands, as we have seen, and of the colonial wars of the period--of fighting in Afghanistan, the Scinde, the Sikh country, of battles with the Maoris and Kaffirs. Except for the illustrations of the French Revolution of 1848, these pictures were supplied by the journal's growing number of volunteer artists.[10] On the other hand, three times during the 1840s the journal sent special artists to Ireland--once to record the Queen's visit in the summer of 1849, and twice to record, for English eyes, the poverty and deprivation of that land. The sketches taken in the winter of 1849-50 were made specifically to "give as far as possible, a faithful report of the working of [the Poor] Law," which the ILN's editors believed had made the "fearful Condition of Ireland" worse rather than better.[11]

"Domestic Intelligence," also called variously "Provincial News" or "Country News," generally came next. Here newsworthy items, often describing accidents, crimes, deaths, and elections, were excerpted from provincial papers, with and without acknowledgment. There followed "Metropolitan News," with news of a similar nature from London and the metropolitan area.

On the editorial page, generally the sixth or seventh of each issue, there were several small items of general information--the "Calendar for the Week," containing astronomical information, church holy and feast days, historic anniversaries, and the birthdates of famous people; a chart predicting the times of the high tides at London bridge for the coming week; and often a brief record of the past week's weather, prepared by James Glaisher.

Then, scattered throughout each issue, where, and when, space was available, were columns presenting the sort of information that the commercial middle classes had expected of their newspaper for more than a century. "Naval and Military Intelligence" contained information on regimental movements and naval ship arrivals; and "Shipping Intelligence" presented news of commercial ship arrivals and departures. In every issue there appeared "The Markets," with the week's commodity prices up to a very late hour, and "Monetary Transactions for the Week," with rates for foreign securities and British funds, and railway and mining shares. There also appeared the "London Gazette," with news of royal and military appointments and filings for bankruptcy, and a list, in very tiny type, of births, marriages, and deaths throughout the nation. In 1847 and years

following this kind of information was supplemented regularly with a column entitled "Obituary of Eminent Persons Recently Deceased," frequently accompanied by portraits, and then, in 1850, by "Wills of Eminent Persons Recently Deceased."

"Church and Universities" contained primarily news of nominations and appointments and days of visitation and consecration. The heading "Court and Haut Ton" introduced activities in court and high life. These regular accounts of the daily calendar of the royal family, of royal visits and court presentations, were sometimes supplemented with elaborate descriptions of weddings of the aristocracy, together with illustrations of the bridal party and the wedding cake. Under "Public Meetings" the proceedings of England's legion benevolent and scientific societies were noted and summarized. And every May, or at other specified times during the year, when annual meetings regularly took place, there were illustrated accounts of the gatherings of the British Archaeological Institute, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the Royal Agricultural Society, and a host of others. A column entitled "Scientific Progress" or "Popular Science" featured recent discoveries and inventions.

Columns on "Law Intelligence" summarized proceedings in Chancery, the Assizes, the Queen's Bench, the Central Criminal Court, and the other courts of England's many-tiered legal system when they were in session. Reports from London's police courts were detailed case by case. These came, no doubt, from the submissions of penny-a-liners, as did the column headed "Accidents and Offenses," with its tales of fires, accidents, sudden

deaths, and criminal activities. Both appeared with decreasing frequency throughout the decade. A detailed examination of the journal's treatment of criminal news follows this general survey of its contents.

When the times warranted it, new columns were introduced. In 1845 "Summary of Railway Facts" appeared, shortly altered to "The Railway Progress," which was presented with the announcement, "Railways now occupy such a prominent position in the public mind, that we have no doubt our readers will be interested in the following record of their progress. We select the accounts from various sources." There followed brief items about projected lines, including the cost of shares.[12] The column was later called simply "Railway Intelligence" and appeared throughout the rest of the paper's first decade. With the national budget a subject of considerable concern after the repeal of the Corn Laws, a column on "The Revenue" was inaugurated, and with the cholera epidemic, a weekly and quarterly report on "Returns of Mortality," "State of Public Health," and "Health of London during the Week."

Finally, small facts of current interest, like the number of passengers on a particular train, or the death of a celebrated clown, or an active beehive in December (the result of unseasonably warm weather), were squeezed next to highlights of general news in "Epitome of News--Foreign and Domestic." Late news was added in the "Postscript" column, and repeated, for the benefit of country subscribers, in "From Our Late Editions Last Week."

It is worth reiterating here that the Illustrated London News, despite the suggestion of its name, was a national paper published in

London, and not a "London" paper. Ingram had selected the name while still a provincial newsagent, for his Nottingham customers generally called for the "London news" when they wanted papers that were national rather than local or regional in scope.[13] Much of the news of nation-wide significance was, of course, made in London, so the distinction between a national paper and a London paper is at times very fine indeed, but Ingram never defined his paper as local in content or readership and made much, in fact, of its broad appeal.

In the scope of its general news reporting, the Illustrated London News took as its territory what the press of England had mapped out over the past several decades. Illustrations aside, its format for reporting was routine and conventional. Its emphasis on particular kinds of events, however, and the nature of its illustration of them gave the new journal its character. A fruitful way to begin to define the character of the ILN is to look at its treatment of criminal news, for two reasons. First, criminal news had been a staple of the working-class Sunday press since the second decade of the century, and newspaper illustrations, although they had recorded such events as the coronations of George IV and Victoria, were overwhelmingly associated with the illustration of crime. Perhaps nowhere more clearly than in the reporting of criminal news can we see how Ingram shaped his fare to make a weekly paper, a weekly illustrated paper, acceptable to fastidious middle-class tastes.

Second, late in the century a lively controversy arose over Ingram's purposes in founding the paper. It seems to have been generally accepted

that Ingram had originally planned the ILN as exactly the kind of criminal news sheet most people expected an illustrated newspaper to be: "an illustrated criminal record on the lines of the Greenacre numbers of the 'Weekly Chronicle,'" was how Vizetelly remembered it. But when Clement Shorter, the young editor of the ILN who prepared the journal's fiftieth anniversary issue in 1892, printed Vizetelly's version of the founding of the journal, he drew fire from Ingram's widow, still alive, now Lady Watkin. In a letter to the editor Lady Watkin insisted that Vizetelly's memory deceived him, and that throughout the journal's early volumes "there is absolute consistency--state functions and social festivities, every phase of life, indeed, except crime." Shorter had to go down to Rose Hill, Cheshire, to visit Lady Watkin and smooth over what had become a family squabble, for William Ingram had supported his editor. A few years later, in an article in the Contemporary Review, Shorter publicly reversed himself, and asserted that in founding the ILN there was probably no more than a preliminary discussion of crime; but privately, in his memoirs, he recorded that he still believed "beyond question" that Ingram's inspiration had been the Greenacre numbers of the Weekly Chronicle.[14] A close investigation of the journal's treatment of criminal news, especially in its early days, may help to clarify Ingram's original conception of his paper and serve to justify the statements of the cynical Vizetelly or the not disinterested Lady Watkin. But most important, it will reveal a good deal about Ingram's shaping of the staple fare of the Sunday press for his announced middle-class audience.

An examination of the early issues of the ILN reveals that the journal set out more firmly in the Sunday press tradition of crime reporting than Lady Watkin perhaps wanted to remember. Columns on Law Intelligence, including reports from the Assizes, the Central Criminal Court, and the London police courts filled at least one page in sixteen throughout the paper's first year. Two months after the paper's founding, a column called "Coroners' Inquests" began to appear. Items like "Narrow Escape," "Attempted Suicide," "Outrage by a Policeman," and "Gang of Burglars" were included in the journal's "Country News" and "Metropolitan News" columns. A new feature, designated "Accidents and Offences," was introduced early in 1843 to bring together news of just this sort. In the tradition of popular journalism, reports from the London police courts were often told in a humorous vein and frequently illustrated with Alfred Crowquill's small, comic sketches that made the most of stereotypes, like brawling drunks and conniving Jewish merchants, and of visual puns. For example, the account of one claimant, a leather-breeches maker whose work, he asserted, was well known on the Continent, was accompanied by a small sketch of a cannon with the caption, "Celebrated for making breeches on the Continent"; and a report of two Italians who were arrested by police for exhibiting a bear in the public streets and creating a disturbance was entitled "Un-BEAR-able Conduct of the Police."[15]

But while extensive coverage was given to crime in the early issues of the ILN, this sort of comic reporting and visual punning was very different from the sensational illustrations of the Greenacre murder in the

Weekly Chronicle, which had portrayed "the head of the murdered woman as preserved in spirits in Paddington Workhouse," and "the room where the horrible mutilation was committed."[16] Moreover, where humor was inappropriate, the journal's treatment of criminal news was overly sober and moralistic. In the paper's second leading article, entitled "Our Principles," the editors announced that

> coroners' inquests, and civil and criminal trials, will command no small share of our attention; and wherever society is shocked and degraded by, crimes so vast in magnitude and so deep in dye as those we have recently seen committed and condemned [the reference is to Daniel Good, whose trial for murder had just taken place], we will seek to infuse a healthier tone of morality into the popular mind upon the subject of such dismal atrocities--to diminish the wild and dreadful excitement which at such moments agitate the public frame, and to cleanse that bad and brutal spirit which is fond of revelling in execration, and makes a holiday spectacle of the crisis that sends the murderer before his God.[17]

It was, of course, long a convention of street literature, the early novel, and the Sunday press to protest in mock-pious tones the virtuous and reforming purposes of elaborate treatment of crime and criminals. Such justifications helped one stay on the right side of censorship laws and gave a moral cast to the account but usually fooled no one, and editors frequently wrote them with tongue obviously in cheek, or even admitted, as did the editors of the Observer at the time of Thurtell's trial, that overwhelming sales were in themselves the justification.[18]

In the same issue in which the ILN's editors announced "Our Principles," they presented, with apologies, a small portrait of Daniel Good, the murderer. Portraits of murderers were associated with broadsides and the whole genre of "gallows literature" that flourished at the time of an execution,[19] a kind of literature with which the ILN

of course did not want to be associated. So again the editors expressed their general repugnance to news of this sort, but explained that the case at hand was so exceptional as to force them to alter their normal standards, and furthermore, the publication of the portrait could serve instructional purposes as well, affording a model for disciples of Lavater, the physiognomist, to study.

> It is not our intention to disfigure the pages of the Illustrated London News with engravings, especially connected with crime and its consequences; we do not profess to be of the "raw head and bloody-bones" school, nor do we desire to encourage the tastes of such as are gratified with pictorial representations of murders and murderers; but in the case of the man, now counting the last few hours that separate him from eternity, the crime for which he will suffer, as well as the revolting circumstances attending it, give a more general interest to the affair than ordinary offences of this character possess. Many of our readers may be disciples of Lavater, and to them we shall for once, in such a case, afford an opportunity of exercising their judgment upon the countenance of this man. We are assured the likeness is a correct one, and as such we give it, though not quite sure if we ought not to apologize for its appearance in this paper.[20]

These justifications are strained and far-fetched. But they do serve to show, I think, how Ingram was testing his audience. In the journal's early numbers he presented his readers with the standard Sunday press fare of criminal news while asserting he was not, trying to ascertain in which direction he should go. Would a middle-class audience delight in sensational news and the illustration of crime and criminals; would they delight in such features only if couched in moral, reformist, and instructional purposes; or would they prefer that crime and criminals not appear at all in a journal designed for family reading? Criminal news in the ILN's early numbers was carefully shaped so

that the journal could ultimately go in whatever direction proved to be most suitable.

Consequently, the crime reporting by the early ILN--and attention to criminal news is considerable--is hedged in pious protestations. The journal asserted its role of guardian, or watchdog, with regard both to its audience and to its function in reporting crime and violence; that is, readers had to be shielded from too detailed or gory an account of hideous events, yet publicity must be given them, however repulsive their nature, so that the paper could do its duty to families, especially to the heads of families, in criticizing them and its duty to society in preventing their recurrence. The appeal of such reporting was not, in the end, unlike that of a peep show. For example, sure to catch the eye was a case accorded small space "because it revealed a series of cruel seductions, heartless deceptions, and vicious actions, the detail of which we conceive to be foreign to the true province of a paper devoted sincerely to the domestic circle." And when, in the fall of 1842, a rash of prosecutions of members of the aristocracy engendered a public discussion of the morals of that class, the editors of the ILN offered the following reflections in a leading article entitled "Black Sheep of the Aristocracy":

> There have been of late several trials either in the Law, Bankruptcy, Police, or Criminal Courts, which have never been detailed at length in the columns of this journal (although they formed the stimulating pabulum of excitement for the readers of nearly every other newspaper in the empire), because we are scrupulous of the admission of even the narration of impure circumstances--of tales of questionable morality--of exhibitions of revolting social depravity in whatever guise they may appear. We merely gave paragraph

> notices, therefore, of the trials in question; and, if our remarks now be more general than our notices then, it is only because we find the task of reprobation more particularly imposed upon us, by the vigorous though unhealthy growth of the wickedness which we would stigmatize and deplore.[21]

By the middle of 1843, however, there is a notable change in the format of the ILN, and a shift in its tone as well. Crowquill's sketches ceased to accompany reports from London's police courts, and the humor in such accounts likewise disappeared. The column on "Coroners' Inquests" dropped out altogether, and, in fact, the total amount of police and criminal news declined considerably. That the paper was by this time firmly established accounts for this change, I think, in two ways. First, now able to maintain a permanent staff of its own reporters and correspondents, it relied far less extensively on excerpts from other papers and on items supplied by penny-a-liners, whose province was always police news and reports of fires and accidents. This had not been possible in the early days, when much of the issue was pasted together in the office. After 1843, the staff could fill each number with features it could initiate and control. Second, and more important, by 1843 Ingram had found his audience, and knew which direction his journal should take. And it was not the portrait of Daniel Good that caught the interest of middle-class readers, for Good was the only murderer ever to appear in the journal.[22] It was rather, as we shall see in detail shortly, the illustrations of the Queen's trip to Scotland in August and September of 1842 that captured the public imagination.[23]

The reporting of criminal news did not disappear from the Illustrated London News altogether. The extraordinary interest of Victorian

readers of all classes in crime, particularly in murder, has often been noted.[24] But accounts of crime and criminals no longer received the steady emphasis given them in the early days. The details of proceedings of cases heard in the Assizes, the Central Criminal Court, and the London police courts were buried in the mass of news and miscellaneous information and entertainments the ILN presented its readers every week. By mid-decade as much attention was paid to civil suits--to frauds of railway shares, for example--as to criminal trials, and by 1850 the columns on the London police courts and "Accidents and Offences" rarely even appeared.

The sensational crimes of the era, however--the murders at Salt Hill, Hampstead Fields, and Stanfield Hall, the Praslin tragedy, and the case of the Mannings--received separate treatment, with page after page of court testimony recounted, and detailed descriptions of the attitude and behavior of the condemned awaiting execution. There were no portraits of the murderers, neither were there scenes of the executions, but drawings of the exteriors of the sites of the murders appeared, and, in the Praslin case--the cruel murder of the Duchess de Praslin by her husband and his subsequent suicide, in a series of events that shook the French aristocracy to its foundations--a floor plan showing the locations of bloodstains.[25] With the journal and its readership firmly established, the editors were much less self-conscious in introducing these criminal cases than they had been in treating such material in the early days, and the stance of moral rectitude in which such topics had previously been couched largely disappeared.

But not altogether, and in its continued treatment of the highly publicized crimes of the 1840s the ILN was still inclined to have its cake and eat it too. In early 1845 two sensational murders, one hard on the heels of the other, received widespread publicity--the Quaker John Tawell's poisoning of his mistress Sarah Hart at Salt Hill, and Thomas Henry Hocker's brutal beating of his friend Mr. Delarue at Hampstead Fields. In a long editorial the editors of the ILN denounced the public's "degrading appetite for horrors," the "morbid curiosity and sympathy with criminals," yet in the same issue they catered to just this curiosity with an entire page devoted to the coroner's jury investigation of Hocker, the further questioning at Marlborough Street, and a long account of Mr. Delarue's funeral;[26] and much more space, over the previous weeks, had been accorded to sordid details revealed at Tawell's trial. When, two months later, Hocker was publicly executed, the ILN presented its readers with all the elements that broadsides sold to the crowds attending executions generally exploited: a reprint of the "condemned sermon"; the details of Hocker's last evening; his demeanor and dress as he awaited the hour of execution; his confession, in this case that a friend who had "not come forward" had done the deed; his final letters to his loved ones, copied in full; and the execution itself. But on the facing page, in an editorial, the editors decried the spectacle made of a condemned man's last hours.

> We think the practice of giving publicity to the minute details of a criminal's last hours, altogether demoralising; it excites a morbid curiosity, without effecting any public good. The Law, as we have stated, provides functionaries to receive any confession the criminal may make, and compels the execution to be carried into effect before the eyes of

> the world. With all the wretched details of the appearance, looks, and actions of the culprit, whether he bore his fate with indifference or had his faculties crushed out of him by dread at the approach of his last hour, society has nothing to do; it has taken his life; it has exacted the last penalty; any mental suffering it inflicts beyond what is involved in this, merely to gratify its own curiosity, is a cruelty and a crime.[27]

When, a few years later, the ILN printed the Duchess de Praslin's letters and private diaries, the editors pointed not to their titillating details, but to their edifying nature. "These beautiful compositions," they explained, "are replete with interest; they exhibit, in a strong degree, the reflections of a moral and highly gifted intellect; and are worthy of attentive perusal."[28]

Such examples are too good not to cite, but including them, and even to talk about the journal's treatment of crime and criminals, is to distort its nature and character after its first year. A few sensational cases were accorded detailed treatment, but they were isolated, and far and away the exceptions. The rule the journal shortly came to abide by was a de-emphasis on criminal news--not merely a condemnation of the sensational while indulging in it, but a deliberate exclusion or simply a silence. "To think that the public enjoy or approve of such details," the editors wrote in 1851, "is to wrong the intelligence of the age,"[29] and by this time they were as good as their word.

In the experience of the journal's first year Ingram learned, or confirmed his instinctive sense, that his announced audience's appetite for criminal news was not voracious but delicate. The middle-class families of Victorian Britain wanted to see not the disorders of their

age, but its achievements and accomplishments. And so, with all the illustrations of May garlands and December hearths, of Royal Academy paintings and Roman pottery, of Kaffir warriors and views in the Lake District, of ladies' fashions, crowds at Derby Day, and portraits of M.P.'s, what one is struck by most of all as one turns over those large folio pages, issue after issue, of the first two dozen volumes of the Illustrated London News, is the overwhelming emphasis on the ceremonies of public life. When the Queen left on her tour of the Highlands in the late summer of 1842, and Landells followed her to sketch the triumphal arches, the formal receptions, and the spots of interest that marked the royal progress, the Illustrated London News found its subject, and, presumably, its audience, for at this point, contemporaries noted, the journal's circulation increased significantly and its success was secured.[30] The ILN had, of course, in the opening leader pledged its attention to the pleasures of the aristocracy--"their court festivals, their bals masques, their levees, their drawing-rooms--the complexion of their grandeur and the circumstance of all their pomp,"[31] but after the Queen's Highland tour its commitment to these kinds of events was reconfirmed. The proprietors promised to illustrate abundantly Lord Mayor's Day that November, "partly to gratify our readers generally, and those particularly who are shut out by distance from the scene, and partly to mark our approval of the event, as one of the good old celebrations of former times, which were conceived in a cheering spirit, and are still redolent of heart-warmth and kindly influences." Such public displays have an effect on public morals; they stimulate

the spirit and teach "what perseverance and industry will do."[32] When, later that month, Victoria paid a royal visit to the Duke of Wellington at Walmer Castle, the ILN commended the Queen on the occasion.

> There is good omen in the belief that our Queen may, by occasional visits to the mansions of her high nobility, spread the genial fervour of royalty more lastingly over the land; gladden thousands of her people who would else have never dreamed of the happiness of her presence, and most completely identify herself with the loves and memories of all who are fortunate enough to live within the sphere of travels. Trade, too, is enlivened by these royal journeys, and many classes of the community are benefited the moment the Court is astir. We shall always feel pleasure--and never spare expense--in gratifying the public with graphic and copious illustrations of these and similar events; and we are the more urged to do so by the stimulus of past and, we hope, present success, and by the attention which our efforts have commanded from the most leading and influential writers of the day.[33]

It was with its illustrations of Lord Mayor's Day that the ILN first received recognition from the foremost of its contemporaries, The Times, and it is worth stepping aside for a moment to note this fact.[34] Ingram had sent specimen copies of the ILN's first issue to newspaper offices throughout the kingdom, but a public welcome was offered only by provincial papers like the Stirling Journal and Mona's Herald, which were mentioned in the previous chapter. Some time in September 1842 the Morning Post and the Morning Advertiser noticed the new paper, both citing specifically its appropriateness for family reading, "its studied avoidance of whatever should create a blush, or induce an impure sentiment."[35] But not until 1843, with the publication of the Colosseum Print, did the British press in general acknowledge the illustrated paper.[36] It is significant that the important papers of the kingdom

waited so long to accord the new paper recognition, a testimony of the suspicion with which an illustrated paper of the Sunday press class was viewed by the middle-class newspaper establishment.[37] For similar reasons England's best artists, as we have seen, at first hesitated to draw for the newspaper.

But, over the months, the ILN's "studied avoidance of whatever should create a blush," and its pious exclamations over what might have brought forth that rosy hue, established the respectability of newspaper illustration. "For the sake of our real, faithful, and influential patrons--the Respectable Families of England," proclaimed the editors, "we have kept the purity of our columns inviolate and supreme"; and readers came to believe that they had done so.[38] The ILN's circulation figures rapidly overtook most Sunday papers, and by September 1842 it was second only to the Weekly Dispatch, but, the editors asserted, first in respectability.[39] Announcing a few months later that it had now surpassed the Weekly Dispatch in circulation, the ILN proclaimed,

> The experiment of tempting the better taste of the people with pictured illustration into paths of reading which were at least sound, moral, and instructive--of putting the seal of art upon the honesty of politics and the authenticity of news, without making brutality a necessary ingredient of the one, or crime and misery the eternal pabulum of the other--succeeded to an extent which rejoiced the well-thinking.[40]

By this time the Illustrated London News was well settled into its emphasis on royalty and public ceremonies. Through the decade the journal's special artists traced the Queen's appointments and travels wherever she went--to Walmer, Burghley, Stowe, and Hatfield House; to the City and to the manufacturing districts; to the Highlands and to Ireland;

to France and to Germany. The editors noted that these numbers occasioned extraordinary sales, and, as we have seen, frequently offered them separately, in an appropriate wrapper. In addition to these royal progresses, the ILN for these years is replete with illustrations of the public ceremonies of mid-Victorian Britain--the openings of railway lines and new stations, of bridges, docks, tunnels, and other public improvements; the openings of museums, institutes, and orphanages; the openings of exhibitions and festivals, opening night at the opera and concert hall; the dedication of statues and memorials; the consecrations of churches; state weddings and funerals; charity dinners, state banquets, and philanthropic society affairs.

These ceremonial events were, of course, scheduled in advance and therefore easy for the Illustrated London News to illustrate. But, more important, such events were eminently respectable. They provided the journal with a way of emphasizing the decent and the orderly in Victorian life. As temporal landmarks, they heralded Victorian progress and improvement, both physical and moral. Illustrations of these events pleased the journal's middle-class readers, who saw in them the permanent record of themselves and their accomplishments. It was the middle classes who built England's railways and orphanages, patronized its museums and concert halls, supported its churches and philanthropic societies, and the Illustrated London News celebrated these activities, and made them the symbols of the age. These middle-class doings were far more interesting to the journal and its readers than the gossip and scandals of the aristocracy and the crimes of the lower classes that were the staple fare in other Sunday papers.

But so many illustrations of the ceremonies of public life also made for a blandness, a predictable sameness, that extended from issue to issue and volume to volume. The routine drawing of ceremonial events bored Charles Keene; and routine pictures of pageants and spectacles must have bored at least some of the members of those middle-class families they were designed to gratify. Certainly Charles Dickens, in Bleak House, found amusing the tendency of the illustrated papers to depict everything on a grand scale, and Charles Knight longed for a less one-sided view of that panorama of life that the ILN was supposed to present.

> If the whole outward manifestations of our present social life be not monotonous, their sober delineation in weekly pictures is decidedly so. Look, for example, at one of the most interesting and satisfactory incidents of this generation. We have a Queen who travels, not in set progresses as Elizabeth travelled, but by railway and steam-boat to the extremest distances of the land over which she rules. "The Illustrated London News," it is said, never rose into a large circulation till it began to trace her Majesty's steps wherever she went. During the twenty years from 1842 to 1862 what endless repetitions have we had of solemn directors of the iron road bowing from the platform; of robed mayors and aldermen presenting their loyal addresses; of smart ladies waving handkerchiefs from drawing-room windows; of crowds shouting and impeding the way in narrow streets. All these pictures are alike, with a difference. The scenery is varied; the actors are the same. Sometimes we have incidents that could never have been seen by the artist--ships foundering--mines exploding. The staple materials for the steady-going illustrator to work most attractively upon are, Court and Fashion; Civic Processions and Banquets; Political and Religious Demonstrations in crowded halls; Theatrical Novelties; Musical Meetings; Races; Reviews; Ship Launches--every scene, in short, where a crowd of great people and respectable people can be got together, but never, if possible, any exhibition of vulgar poverty. This view of Society is one-sided. We must look further for its "many coloured life." We want to behold something more than the showy make-up of the characteristics of the age. We want to see the human form beneath the drapery.[41]

That the ILN was not oblivious to the "vulgar poverty" of the age, as Knight put it, to the "human form beneath the drapery" and the "showy make-up," is demonstrated in leader after leader calling attention to the miseries of the poor, to the "condition-of-England" question, as we shall see in the next chapter. But such topics, with only a few exceptions, were avoided in illustration. The visual impact is generally considered to be stronger than the written--more emotional, more memorable; even today codes of censorship are much stricter for television and motion pictures than for printed material. So the ILN, in seeking to reach a middle-class, family audience, had to eliminate any hint of the sensational element to which illustrations may so easily be given; in doing so, a certain blandness and sameness were inevitable.

And yet, by the same token and by the journal's own testimony, the elimination of the sensational was the very source of its success. And the Illustrated London News was not the only nineteenth-century paper to find that the respectable was more profitable than the nonrespectable. Punch, which began in the early 1840s as an impudent, strident social critic, mellowed by the 1850s and found that perhaps there was more to be gained in gently spoofing ladies' fashions, overfed old gentlemen, and middle-class routines than in exposing social injustices and the deprivations of the poor. "The circulation keeps up," commented Sir Joseph Paxton to Mark Lemon, "so keep up the tone." Earlier the Chambers brothers had achieved tremendous popularity for their journal by studiously avoiding all controversial subjects and objectionable prose.[42] And the experience of the Daily Graphic, a New York illustrated paper

established in 1873, is also much to the point here. The Daily Graphic was started, wrote Henry Blackburn, a British commentator on the illustrated press, to provide a daily record with rapidly executed and excellent illustrations. But, recognizing that its audience cared more for "pictures" than for current events, it shortly "degenerated into a picture-sheet, reproducing (without leave) engravings from the Illustrated London News, the Graphic, and other papers, as they arrived from England." At the end of its first year, its editors attributed the paper's success, in the face of financial panic and depression in the United States, to "an absence of all sensational news."

> Pictorial records of crime, executions, scenes involving misery, and the more unwholesome phases of social life, are a positive detriment to a daily illustrated newspaper. In fact, the higher the tone and the better the taste appealed to, the larger we have found our circulation to be.

"The great art, it would seem, of conducting a daily illustrated newspaper," commented Blackburn, "is to know what to leave out--when, in fact, to have no illustrations at all!"[43]

Perhaps knowing what to leave out was what Ingram knew instinctively, from "his own experience of daily existence in all its aspects among the middle-class families of the kingdom," as Escott put it. Or, if the suggestion came from Vizetelly, or Landells, he knew how to follow up good advice. It was respectability that mattered, an emphasis on decency, order, and achievement, and after an initial testing of the waters of sensationalism, Ingram changed directions with his feet scarcely wet. As the editors of the Daily Graphic rediscovered nearly forty years

later, a middle-class audience wanted its newspaper illustrations to be a source of excitement, rarely; a means for social commentary, occasionally; a means of instruction, yes; but, above all, simply pictures, representations of the picturesque in Victorian life, or, as Knight put it, the "showy make-up" of the age. Though the ILN's editors protested that theirs was no mere picture-book, Charles Mackay privately noted that indeed the ILN was just that, at least until he became the editor.[44] And if the ILN was, with its emphasis on public ceremonies and festivities, a picture-book, then Ingram knew how to turn that reputation to good account, and his editors made a good deal of the historic value of the paper. In the preface to the first volume, written at the end of 1842, the editors announced:

> We know that the advent of an Illustrated Newspaper in this country must mark an epoch--give wealth to Literature and stores to History, and put, as it were, milestones upon the travelled road of time. Here is alone one fine subject of contemplation in such a work--What will it do for the future? Judge by comparison with the past. What would Sir Walter Scott or any of the great writers of modern time have given--whether for the purposes of fiction or history, or political example and disquisition--for any museum-preserved volume such as we have here enshrined. The life of the times--the signs of its taste and intelligence--its public monuments and public men--its festivals--institutions--amusements--discoveries--and the very reflection of its living manners and costumes--the variegated dresses of its mind and body--what are--what must be all these but treasures of truth that would have lain hid in Time's tomb, or perished amid the sand of his hour-glass but for the enduring and resuscitating powers of art, the eternal register of the pencil giving life and vigour and palpability to the confirming details of the pen. Could the days of Elizabeth or others as bright and earlier still be unfolded to us through such a mirror, what a mint of wisdom might we gather in from such dazzling periods of the past. Of just as much captivating

> value then is such a book to the future. It will pour the lore of the Antiquarian into the scholar's yearning soul, and teach him the truth about those who have gone before him, as it were, with the Pictorial Alphabet of Art! . . . This volume is a work that history must keep.[45]

And when the journal was only a few months old the editors proclaimed that they took great pride in knowing that

> the strong middle classes . . . have registered in their families, have filed and kept, and do file and keep the Illustrated London News, because it affords palpable instruction in a pure and virtuous form, and administers to the gratification of innocent and civilising taste a pictorial reflex of the history, the manners, and the adventures of the age.[46]

If the number of complete sets of the Illustrated London News in libraries today can be taken as an indication, Victorian families did save their copies of the ILN, much as families a century later would save copies of National Geographic and Life Magazine.[47] Indeed, there seems to be something about illustrations in periodicals that lends them a permanent value which letterpress alone does not. People can't bear to throw away pictures, and Ingram made the most of this. He urged subscribers whose copies arrived somewhat damaged or dirty to change agents, and he recommended those agents who forwarded the paper in a large envelope, and so free of crease. Those whose issues were folded in order to be sent through the post were given instructions for removing the crease by dampening the sheet. To protect the paper during perusal, the ILN provided a "convenient and elegant" reading case, which subscribers could purchase from booksellers and newsagents, and to store issues until ready for binding in half-yearly volumes, there were portfolios made expressly for the ILN. At half-yearly intervals

the ILN supplied covers, "splendidly and appropriately enriched in black and gold on the side," for binding the paper. Each volume was completed with a title page, an index to text and engravings, a "Chronicle of Remarkable Events," and, in the first few years, with a preface. All the journal's back numbers were kept in print, and subscribers were urged to complete their sets. Or readers could purchase back volumes already bound.[48]

Ingram did everything possible, in other words, to provide the Illustrated London News with a paraphernalia of permanence, and to give the newspaper the aura of a volume of record. In addition, the journal made claims of the same nature. The Exhibition Supplements, for example, were "a permanent and intelligible record of so interesting an event," and the Wellington Supplements "worthy of preservation as a permanent remembrance of the Lamented Hero."[49] And with all the notions of progress, achievement, stability, and peace that informed these events for the mid-Victorian generation, it is no wonder that the Illustrated London News, which celebrated these very characterists of the age, achieved at these times, and not during criminal trials, riots, or revolutions, the greatest circulation advances of its ten-year career.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. ILN, 14 May 1842, p. 1.
2. Lady Ingram-Watkin and Sir John Gilbert, "Letters from Lady Ingram-Watkin and Sir John Gilbert, R.A.," ILN, summer number 1892, p. vi.
3. ILN, 22 July 1843, p. 49; 31 Dec. 1842, p. 529; 10 Sept. 1842, p. 278. As we have seen, the ILN did not have a strong editorial staff and may have been at times in its early days without an editor. The use of the term, "the editors," is, however, a convenient convention.
4. William James Linton, Threescore and Ten Years, 1820 to 1890: Recollections (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), p. 57; Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, Masters of English Journalism: A Study of Personal Forces (1911; rpt. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1970), p. 228; see also H. R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism (1887; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), II, 296; and J. C. Woollan, "Men of Mark: Sir William James Ingram, Bart.," Caxton Magazine, 3 (July 1902), 130.
5. See, for example, ILN, 22 Oct. 1842, p. 374; and 27 Sept. 1845, p. 198.
6. ILN, 5 Sept. 1846, pp. 145-46.
7. ILN, 31 Jan. 1846, p. 70. A similar statement introduces the parliamentary supplement in 1843; see ILN, 4 Feb. 1843, supp., p. 81.
8. ILN, 3 Apr. 1847, p. 214; for the series, see the issues for 17 Apr.–15 May 1847.
9. See, for example, ILN, 4 May 1844, p. 282, where the Paris correspondent forwards news from Spain; ILN, 25 June 1842, p. 105, where information on the destruction wrought by the Hamburg fire is "from our own correspondent"; and ILN, 8 Apr. 1848, p. 228, where illustrations of the upheavals in Berlin are by "distinguished Artists" of that city.
10. On the ILN's reporting of wars generally, see Cyril Falls, "The Great World War: One Hundred Years of Warfare," ILN, 16 May 1942, p. 574.
11. ILN, 15 Dec. 1849, p. 393. For the series of Ireland, see ILN, 13-20 Feb. 1847; 7 July-18 Aug. 1849; and 15 Dec. 1849-9 Feb. 1850.
12. ILN, 18 Oct. 1845, p. 246.
13. See chapter 1.
14. Henry Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner, 1893), I, 224; Ingram-Watkin and Gilbert, "Letters," p. vi; Clement K. Shorter, C.K.S.: An Autobiography, ed. J. M. Bulloch (N.p.: privately printed, 1927), pp. 63-65; Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," Contemporary Review, 75 (Apr. 1899), 485-86; see also chapter 1, note 17.
15. ILN, 21 May 1842, p. 26; 5 Nov. 1842, p. 416; see also 30 July 1842, p. 190; 20 Aug. 1842, p. 239; and 22 Oct. 1842, p. 382. Comic crime reporting was for some cheap papers a way of avoiding the tax on news. See Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850: A Study of the Literature Produced for the Working Classes in Early Victorian Urban England (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 154-55.

16. C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Development," Magazine of Art, 13 (July, Aug., Sept. 1890), 298.
17. ILN, 21 May 1842, p. 17.
18. See the comments by the Observer's editors, quoted in Mason Jackson, The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress (1885; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), pp. 242-43. See also Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History (London: Cohen & West, 1957), p. 7.
19. For a description of "gallows literature," see Richard D. Altick, Victorian Studies in Scarlet: Murders and Manners in the Age of Victoria (New York: Norton, 1970), p. 48.
20. ILN, 21 May 1842, p. 32.
21. ILN, 17 Dec. 1842, p. 502; 19 Nov. 1842, pp. 433-34.
22. With the exception of Daniel McNaughton, who assassinated Peel's secretary Edward Drummond in 1843 (ILN, 4 Feb. 1843, p. 80) and Lt. Munro, who killed his sister-in-law's husband Col. Fawcett in one of England's last deaths in dueling, in 1843 (ILN, 11 Sept. 1847, p. 173). But neither can, for the purposes at hand, be considered a murderer, nor were they villains in sensational criminal cases.
23. For the Queen's Highland tour, see ILN, 3 Sept.-8 Oct. 1842.
24. See Altick, Victorian Studies in Scarlet, pp. 10, 41-66.
25. For the Salt Hill murder, see ILN, 4 Jan.-5 Apr. 1845; for that at Hampstead Fields, ILN, 1 Mar.-3 May 1845; for that at Stanfield Hall, ILN, 9 Dec. 1848-9 June 1849; for the Praslin tragedy, ILN, 28 Aug.-11 Sept. 1847; for the Mannings' murder of Patrick O'Connor, 25 Aug.-17 Nov. 1849. The floor plans of the Hôtel Praslin are in ILN, 4 Sept. 1847, pp. 152, 153.
26. ILN, 8 Mar. 1845, pp. 150, 155.
27. ILN, 3 May 1845, pp. 279, 278; see also 10 May 1845, p. 294; and 7 June 1845, p. 359.
28. ILN, 11 Sept. 1847, p. 166.
29. ILN, 26 Apr. 1851, pp. 327-28.
30. George Dalziel and Edward Dalziel, The Brothers Dalziel: A Record of Fifty Years' Work in Conjunction with Many of the Most Distinguished Artists of the Period, 1840-1890 (London: Methuen, 1901), p. 6; Edmund Evans, The Reminiscences of Edmund Evans, ed. and introd. Ruari McLean (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 10; Charles Knight, Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century, With a Prelude of Early Reminiscences (1864; rpt. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), III, 246.
31. ILN, 14 May 1842, p. 1.
32. ILN, 12 Nov. 1842, p. 417.
33. ILN, 19 Nov. 1842, p. 438.
34. The Times noted the high quality of the illustrations, "very far superior to any (caricatures excepted) that have been yet seen in a newspaper," and cited an improvement in public taste that the new paper signified. The Times, 15 Nov. 1842, p. 6. This favorable notice was reprinted in the editorial columns of the ILN, 19 Nov. 1842, p. 438.

35. This is the Morning Advertiser; its full notice and that of the Morning Post are reprinted in the ILN's reprint edition for 18 June 1842, p. 96. Such compliments were collected by the editors of the ILN and assembled on pages that replaced advertisement pages in the reprinted editions of various issues which remained in constant demand.
36. See ILN, 21 Jan. 1843, p. 38; 28 Jan. 843, p. 62; and 28 May 1843, reprint edition, p. 48, where excerpts from these papers are carried.
37. On the initial unrespectability of newspaper illustration, see, especially, William Gamble, "Newspaper Illustrations," in Penrose's Pictorial Annual, III (London: Penrose, 1897), 17.
38. ILN, preface to volume 2, Jan.-June 1843.
39. ILN, 17 Sept. 1842, p. 294.
40. ILN, 17 June 1843, p. 416.
41. Knight, Passages of a Working Life, III, 246-47. For Keene and Dickens, see chapter 2.
42. For Punch, see Susan Briggs and Asa Briggs, eds., introd. to Cap and Bell: Punch's Chronicle of English History in the Making, 1841-61 (London: Macdonald, 1972), p. xi, see also p. xxx; and M. H. Spielmann, The History of Punch (1895; rpt. New York: Greenwood, 1969), pp. 99-100. For Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, see Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 334, who cites an article in volume 4 (1835), 1.
43. Henry Blackburn, The Art of Illustration, rev. J. S. Eland (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1901), pp. 20-21; the quotations from the Daily Graphic are recorded here.
44. ILN, 31 Dec. 1842, p. 529; Charles Mackay, Through the Long Day; or, Memorials of a Literary Life during Half a Century (London: W. H. Allen, 1887), I, 353.
45. ILN, preface to volume 1, May-Dec. 1842.
46. ILN, 10 Sept. 1842, p. 278.
47. See also the testimony of David Williamson, "How We Keep Shop: The Working of a Great Newspaper--The Illustrated London News," Minster, 2 (Aug. 1895), 194-95.
48. See, for example, ILN, 24 Dec. 1842, p. 518, 27 May 1843, p. 352; 26 Oct. 1844, p. 262; 14 Nov. 1846, p. 310; 2 Jan. 1847, p. 6; 22 Jan. 1848, p. 36; 26 May 1849, p. 334; 7 July 1849, p. 6; and 6 Mar. 1852, p. 190. The quotations are from ILN, 6 Mar. 1852, p. 190; and 24 Dec. 1842, p. 518, respectively.
49. ILN, 4 May 1850, p. 302; 20 Nov. 1852, p. 425.

Chapter 4

Political and Social Opinions

Like most journals of Victorian Britain, both daily and weekly, the Illustrated London News offered political and social commentary and the interpretation of events as an essential feature and took as its role the mobilization of public opinion for the influencing of government. A solid, and often well-writen essay on a political or social topic of current interest, and more likely than not of current debate in Parliament, comprised the journal's leading article, issue after issue. The editorials were briefer, at times more a summary of late developments than a comment on them, but they dealt with the same kinds of topics as the leading articles.

A paper's political complexion and social bias are nowhere more apparent than in these original articles, and an analysis of the character of a newspaper might normally begin here. For the Illustrated London News, however, one looks naturally to the illustrations first; these were the journal's major innovation and the heart of its appeal, and they set its tone and personality more powerfully than any other element or feature. And these, as we saw in the preceding chapter, confirmed the triumphs of Victorian order and progress. Ingram excluded the routine illustration of crime from his journal; he excluded the routine illustration of social problems as well. The ILN's illustrations, in fact, rarely touched on matters of opinion.

Yet, with progress and order triumphant in the illustrations, the editors of the ILN could afford to be more radical in their politics and

more vigorous in their social criticism than one might expect from a paper that catered to the middle classes. Ingram shaped, of course, the radical political critique that was standard fare in the Sunday press to the interests and beliefs of his middle-class family audience, but he may, at times, have unexpectedly stretched their sympathies in the direction of England's poor and needy. If one looked only at the ILN's pictures--and no doubt many readers did just that--one might agree with Charles Knight that the paper chose to be ignorant of the "vulgar poverty" of the age, and with Michael Wolff and Celina Fox that "for the Illustrated London News the times were always prosperous, the City always healthy."[1] But a study of the paper's leading articles in its early years reveals that it was not insensitive to the severe social problems of the day, nor was it unsympathetic to the sufferers. To balance the assertions of Knight, Wolff, and Fox, I will here examine in particular the ILN's treatment of poverty and the social problems of city life. But, in the end, one has to acknowledge the overwhelming impression of decency, order, and progress that the ILN as an illustrated newspaper signified, and to remember that for this paper, unlike most others, political and social opinions were secondary, not primary.

Before turning to the kinds of issues that engaged the attention of the ILN's editors and the nature of their opinions, it is useful to look briefly at the role the editors assumed in their expression of opinion, and at their understanding of the purpose of the press. In these matters they clearly associated themselves with the established middle-class papers of the kingdom, seeking more to reform than to criticize.

The editors of the Illustrated London News took an avowedly moral view of the purpose of the press. "The moral force of the press," an article on the history of newspapers asserted, "is one of the most striking features of the times in which we live." In leader after leader the editors called attention to legislative proposals and social abuses. The duty of the journalist, they affirmed, was to "watch carefully and critically the progress of all legislative discussions," to ferret out social injustices and inequities and by publicizing them to rouse public attention and activity for their redress. A leader on incendiarism in Suffolk in the summer of 1844 explained:

> We are beginning, thanks to the exertions of the Press, to get a clearer idea of the causes of this unhealthy and deplorable state of things, and in acknowledging its efforts, we cannot take a fitter opportunity of giving a short estimate of the immense advantages we possess in an engine of enquiry that combines close investigation of causes with the power of spreading far and wide the results it arrives at. It is only by the union of the two powers that opinion can be created. . . . The modern press disseminates facts, which are events, and promulgates opinions, generally conclusions, of which those events are the premises, or comments on the public conduct of the public men by whom those events were influenced.[2]

The editors made a great deal of the morality of their services in the paper's first years, particularly, as we have seen, in their reporting of crime. Once the paper was well established, however, they seemed to find it less necessary to insist on their moral purposes just as they seemed to find it less necessary to insist that their readers were middle class. In the early days the editors also took some responsibility for the reform of individuals and spoke to those private morals that might be elevated by reformist legislation. They denounced, for example,

the practice of dueling and supported legislation that would prohibit it, and they spoke out against gambling in the following manner:

> In pursuit of our duty to the heads of families, and perhaps (if either advice or warning from the public journalist be socially efficacious) to their children also, we take up our pen, upon the first practical opportunity afforded to us, against the vice of gambling. This is the most pestilential and least persecuted of the crimes in modern dissipation; it has perpetrated the largest amount of mischief with the largest amount of impunity, and, at last, the moral voice of civilization is beginning to cry abroad to society to put it down.

The editors also, on occasion, urged the journal's readers to contribute to subscriptions for the widows and families of literary men, and, when a national subscription to aid the starving poor of Ireland was announced, they declared, "The advocacy of so holy a cuase as 'feeding the hungry, and clothing the naked,' is a delightful task, and one of the very few sacred pleasures that fall to the lot of the journalist in his toilsome routine of professional occupation."[3]

But in their reporting of the "unhealthy and deplorable state of things," and in their comments on private morality, the editors of the ILN also felt it incumbent upon them to maintain a decorum of tone and a moderation of detail and language. In fact, in the paper's first leader, even before they announced that it was their purpose "to seek in all things to uphold the great cause of public morality," the editors affirmed that they would associate the principle of the journal "with a purity of tone that may secure and hold fast for our journal the fearless patronage of families."[4] In their first year, as we have seen, the editors assumed a kind of watchdog role in the reporting of criminal news--they asserted their responsibility to society to bring news of

criminal deeds to the attention of the public so that opinion might be mobilized to work for the prevention of crime; yet, at the same time, the brutal details of atrocities had to be handled by the journalist with great care, lest they bring that fatal blush to the cheek and offend the families of the kingdom. The editors decried all publications that permitted the printing of low-bred language and vicious details, and singled out in particular their competitor for the highest circulation among the weekly press, the Weekly Dispatch, pointing to the blasphemy, filth, and venom of its contents and the depravity of its readers.[5] No better way, perhaps the editors thought, to dissociate the ILN from the Sunday press in general than to denounce it.

But the editors were equally firm in denouncing, and avoiding, the passionate language of party strife that they saw as characteristic of French journalists. The French write "not to propagate the truth, or inculcate just and sound principles of political doctrine, but for the sordid purposes of lucre, availing themselves of the national vanity." "The whole press of France is worthless as a public instructor," they asserted; "it is only a public influence stirring up parties, and sections, without making any of them wiser with the wisdom of action and forbearance, either among themselves or towards others." Above all, the editors of the ILN felt that journalists had a responsibility not to indulge in personal invective, and here the English practice of anonymity in public writing proved an advantage. "We have no wish," claimed the editors in the mid-1840s, "to see our 'anonymous' system of journalism exchanged for one that would let loose the vile and petty passions of men to mingle in the grander conflict of principles and opinions." The

superiority of the English press in general was frequently proclaimed, and its moral force and independence of government highly regarded and prized.[6]

From the very beginning the editors of the Illustrated London News disavowed all political party affiliations. "The stakes we play for," they later explained, "are measures, not men--and we care not for the mere colour of political doctrine, so long as some pure nourishing and vital essence spring out of it."[7] True to their word, the editors wrote very little on the maneuverings of party politics and the personalities of public men, though such important figures of the decade as Peel, Russell, Disraeli, Derby, Brougham, Cobden, and, of course, the Duke of Wellington, were not immune from occasional criticism in its pages. But as the editors liked to point out, theirs was, above all, a practical age, one in which, they hoped, social questions had superseded hollow debates on political theory and the mean-spirited bickerings of politicians. Those who governed had to deal with the physical evils of men's lives, and poor relief and sanitation were now more important than even the ballot. "The old watchwords of party have lost their power: the spirit of the age is practical, and cares not to fight for abstractions. The questions that now agitate men's minds are those connected with our material well being and our social advancement."[8] The closest the ILN ever came to supporting a particular party was to express disgust with the "official torpor and apathy" of the Whigs, and their perpetual stumbling over finance. "It is becoming quite certain," commented the editors

during Russell's ministry, "that, on most of the principal questions of the day, the Conservatives are prepared to do more than the Whigs." But even here ability rather than principle was the point, and this comment on the party rather than the issue was rare.[9]

The editors announced in the paper's second leader, entitled "Our Principles," that "the interesting and multifarious workings of our social system" would be the subject of the journal's leading articles:

> We shall be less deeply political than earnestly domestic. Our business will not be with the strife of party, but with what attacks or insures the home-life of the empire; with the household gods of the English people, and, above all, of the English poor; with the comforts, the enjoyments, the affections, and the liberties, that form the links of that beautiful chain, which should be fastened at one end to the cottage, at the other to the palace, and be electric with the happiness that is carried into both![10]

In setting their focus on domestic problems, and their sympathies with the poor and oppressed, the editors of the ILN described for themselves a very large territory indeed, and some very serious problems, for the Illustrated London News was founded in the worst year of England's difficult decade, the "hungry forties." Trade had been declining since the financial crisis of 1837, and the depression, particularly in the spinning and weaving industries, was by the early 1840s widespread and alarming. In January 1842 half of the looms of the Spitalfields silk weavers were reported to be idle, for example, and only two of the nineteen broadcloth factories in Bradford were operating. Nine-tenths of the kingdom's paper mills were shut down. A committee of inquiry in Carlisle concluded that "the fourth of our population is living in a state bordering on absolute starvation." The Bolton Poor Law Commission reported that thirty percent

of the factories were closed and five thousand operatives out of work. For those still employed in factories and mines, the hours were long (up to sixteen hours a day), the working conditions appalling (Lord Ashley's report pictured women and children dragging coal carts through tunnels not two feet high), and the wages frightfully low (children in the mines made 2s. 6d. per week; seamstresses in the cheap clothing trade got a few pennies a shirt, and they had to supply their own needles). These so-called industrious classes lived in hovels--wretched houses packed onto closed courts, with neither ventilation nor sanitation. In Liverpool, forty thousand persons slept in cellars; in fifteen hundred Manchester cellars, three persons slept in a single bed. These conditions--this overwhelming and hopeless poverty--posed the "condition-of-England" question. Wrote Carlyle in Past and Present, in 1843:

> These poor Manchester operatives . . . put their huge, inarticulate question, 'What do you mean to do with us?' in a manner audible to every reflective soul in this kingdom; exciting deep pity in all good men, deep anxiety in all men whatever . . . England will answer for it; or, on the whole, England will perish.[11]

Far from being oblivious to the "vulgar poverty" of the age, the editors of the ILN called public attention to the conditions endured by the poor in leader after leader and in editorial after editorial. Public holidays, festivities, and celebrations might be fit subjects for illustrations, but on the editorial page, or in the leading article, the editors reminded their readers of the suffering and misery in their midst. In 1843, for example, Good Friday, the anniversary of Victoria's coronation, the harvest, the first fire of the season, the annual Smithfield Cattle Exhibition, and the approach of the Christmas holidays were all

occasions for turning public attention not only to the blessings or achievements of the age but to its failures, its poverty and deprivations.[12] In fact, the presence of poverty in the midst of wealth, of misery in the midst of celebration, is almost a theme of the journal in its early years. Anticipating Disraeli's description of the "two nations," the editors of the ILN explained in 1843, "Wealth and poverty co-exist, but between them there 'is a deep gulf fixed.' The difficulty is, to bring one extreme to a knowledge of the other." To bring the higher classes a knowledge of the lower orders was a task the ILN's editors set for themselves.[13] Two years later, in reminding readers of "the violence of a sullen and discontented peasantry" in the midst of a wealthy countryside, they called forth a memorable image. We rejoice in prosperity, they explained, but must acknowledge the misery, "like . . . the revellers of old who sat at the banquet with a skeleton at the table." As late as 1847 and 1848, when reviving trade had begun to ameliorate the harshness of life for England's working classes, the editors still took the opening of the London season as apt time to point out that "everything rich is doubled or intensified, as if to increase the contrast with the misery London hears of, but does not see," and the approach of the Christmas holidays as "by no means an ill-timed opportunity for introducing to our readers a specimen of the lodgment of the Labouring Classes, and that within a very short distance of our luxurious metropolis." At the close of the decade they still commented, "So imperfect is our civilization, that pauperism increases in the midst of plenty, and crime in the midst of a moral and religious people."[14]

Like most of their contemporaries, the editors of the ILN believed that poverty was inevitable, an "evil . . . inherent in the nature of society"; and that pauperism was not a "disease" but a question confronting all densely populated nations.[15] Showing little inclination for political theory, the editors were not much interested in analyzing the causes of poverty, but when they did, they revealed an impatience with the principles of political economy. When Lord Russell in 1845 introduced nine resolutions "with the purpose of raising a debate on the condition of the labouring classes of the country," they cried, "What is wanted is action; the people require from its rulers something more than an intimate acquaintance with the writings of political economists and the authors of commercial dictionaries." And when Brougham spoke against the Poor Law amendment, he was denounced for

> the coldest and most unrelieved application of the most severe principles of political economy, that regards human beings as mere machines for producing wealth by labour . . . without a moment's thought as to whether they may not have the feelings of humanity, the wish for some respite from toil, and the capacity to enjoy the brief exemption.

The political economists celebrated competition, capital against capital, labor against labor, and affirmed that in the pursuit of profit capital and labor were inextricably linked. But the editors of the ILN pointed out that the contest was really between capital and labor, that capital would always win, and that the spirit of competition in labor only drove wages down. "It is becoming evident," the editors explained, "that an abstract principle may be pushed too far, and that the relations between the employer and the employed, when the latter are wholly defenceless,

require some degree of control; the opinion that such an interference can be made with safety, if judiciously managed, is gaining ground."[16]

The poor were suffering, and the entire nation, wrote the editors, ought to be made to feel the "claims, the importance, and the consequences of public distress," and the government ought to undertake every means within its power to alleviate it. The "habitual official neglect of the poor, and legislative neglect also, have been among the worst and most crying evils of our political system." Private charity, they pointed out, though honorable, was not sufficient.[17] And so throughout the 1840s the ILN's editors supported all legislative proposals for government regulation, no matter how tentative, that would seek to ameliorate the working and living conditions of England's poor.

It is important to note that the editors of the ILN never wavered in their confidence in the ability of Parliament to remedy public distress and appalling working conditions through its law-making powers. They might criticize Parliament for the slowness of its legislative machinery, for the long and boring speeches of its members, for its habit of midnight legislation, and even point out that its business had increased beyond its capacity to operate efficiently.[18] But they never doubted the ultimate efficacy of legislative solutions for England's problems.

Lord Ashley's First Report of the Commission for Inquiry into the Employment and Condition of Children in Mines and Manufactories was published in the month in which the ILN made its debut, and in the leader entitled "Our Principles" the editors made specific reference to its

"recent horrible disclosures." "In the course of the career that we propose to ourselves," they asserted, "three essential elements of discussion with us will be, the Poor Laws, the Factory Laws, and the working of the Mining System in those districts of our soil which nature has caverned with her treasures and cruelty disfigures with its crime." The editors urged the adoption of Ashley's Mines and Collieries Bill, and in subsequent years likewise supported increased government regulation of working conditions in industry, such as the restrictions on the employment of women and the limitation of the working day in cotton mills to ten hours. The journal's arguments in support of these new regulations were simply to cite the cruelties and hardships endured by working people. The editors did not involve themselves in the theoretical discussion of the virtues of laissez-faire as opposed to those of government interference; they simply insisted that the abuses were so great that government interference had become a necessity.[19]

In a similar manner and spirit the editors pointed to the dreadful living and working conditions endured by the seamstresses of London. They wished the newly established Society for the Protection and Employment of the Distressed Needlewomen, and for Clothing the Poor, every success, but felt that, at best, it could only ameliorate these conditions slightly.[20] Private charity, though beneficial, was limited in its ability to cope with the "condition-of-England" question.

Nor could private enterprise be trusted to remedy the living conditions of the poor. The rich can purchase sanitary conditions, the editors pointed out, while the poor cannot. In the mid- and late 1840s

the sanitary conditions of city living, the "health of towns," as the issue was called, was a topic of general discussion and legislative debate. The editors of the ILN argued that such matters as sewage and the municipal water supply could not be left to private utility companies, whose competing claims and jurisdictions resulted only in a "mass of confusion, immense expenditure, and mismanagement." The cholera epidemic of 1849 heightened public concern over drainage and water supplies, and when one water company suddenly decreased its service by half, the editors cried out against the "danger of trusting a private trading company with such powers for their own profit." "No monopoly," they asserted,

> ought to be endured in a civilized country if its operation is to shorten or to impair life--to create a nuisance or a pestilence--or to deprive mankind of the healthy enjoyment of their animal functions. . . . Private enterprise, with the spur of cupidity in its side, has, no doubt, been able to achieve many things which might otherwise have remained unaccomplished. But it begins to be understood that there are some things which private enterprise cannot touch with safety, and that there are municipal, as well as individual and national rights which require the most zealous supervision on the part of a people having any real claims to freedom or to civilisation. . . . It is now very generally acknowledged that an abundant supply of wholesome water should, strictly speaking, be a matter of sanatory and municipal police, not of trade; and that communities ought no more to be at the mercy of speculators for water than for light and air and permission to breathe.[21]

So in matters where abuses in working and living conditions for the poor were intolerable, the editors of the ILN firmly supported government regulation as the only effective means of reform. The expanding responsibilities of government were not to be feared, they explained, but welcomed, for without centralization there would be anarchy.[22] In matters where government regulation seemed to be causing more distress than it

alleviated, as in the case of the New Poor Law, the problem was not in government interference in itself, but in the wisdom of a particular law, and the remedy was not in an absence of interference, but in revision of the law.

The operation of the so-called New Poor Law was a topic of general discussion in the spring of 1842, and, as we have seen, the editors of the ILN announced that it would be the subject of their special attention. According to the provisions of this law, which had been passed in 1834, out-of-doors relief was limited to the aged and infirm. The destitute but able-bodied had to enter a union workhouse, where husband and wife were separated and the allowance of food was less than that allotted to prisoners. Like other critics of the New Poor Law--and The Times had been carrying on a campaign against the measure for some time--the editors of the ILN found its separation of families unchristian and unwholesome and its forced indoors relief degrading and demoralizing to the spirit. "The separation of husbands from wives, and parents from children," they pointed out,

> under the mockery of a pretended system of shelter and relief, cannot be defended by any man who admits the claims of the domestic affections, and the value of the human heart. . . . Because you build up a workhouse, you are not to exclude from it the feelings which God implants in us for cultivation, which virtue honours, nature nourishes, and love endears.

In addition, the official callousness and occasional mismanagement of the Poor Law commissioners, the bureaucratic nature of the regulations, and the prisonlike atmosphere of the workhouse made the measure crueler in its operation than it was intended to be, though it had been written

with the express intention of making poor relief as unpleasant as possible, in the hopes that the destitute would thereby be encouraged to self-support. "A system of political economy the most cursed in its spirit and operation," the editors explained, "of philosophy most foul, heartless, and hollow, set itself to work to overturn the spirit of the ancient law." In 1844 two bills ameliorating the operation of the New Poor Law were introduced, one ending the mandatory separation of families and the other establishing the means for providing temporary refuge and so eliminating the red tape that often bandied the poor from parish to parish. The editors of the ILN welcomed both proposals, and ardently supported them.[23]

Government interference was the means by which the editors of the ILN urged their readers to deal with the "condition-of-England" question. Private charity was not sufficient, and private enterprise could not be trusted. But above all, the editors had no use for a government that made its presence felt only through the use of troops:

> The State, which only attends to what alarms it, passes over unnoticed all the abuses of the excess of toil, and when want and hunger, to the very verge of famine, is driving the poor and ignorant sufferers into some instinctive movement that may make their distress known, the only remedy thought of by the ruling powers is to despatch troops into what are called "the disturbed districts."[24]

This was written in 1844, but it could well have come from the editors during the riots that seethed through the manufacturing districts during the summer of 1842. By these events, very early in its career, the paper's commitment to the poor and oppressed was critically tested. These disturbances, the so-called Plug Plot riots, first took the form

of turnouts protesting wage reductions, but soon expanded to more generalized demonstrations, calling attention to intolerable economic conditions and advocating Chartist reforms. Within a few weeks, Her Majesty's troops had restored order, but not without several sharp clashes and numerous arrests. Throughout the riots, however, the ILN's sympathies for the operatives never wavered, though the methods they employed and the leaders who agitated them to violence were soundly condemned. When the disturbances first threatened, the editors made their opinion known:

> It is not likely that we shall be charged with any want of sympathy with that misery [of the poor]. We have condoled with it sincerely--we have pictured it strongly--dwelt upon it indignantly--and invoked the best impulses of humanity and the surest wisdom of policy in its behalf. We have urged relief, general, immediate, and active, upon the wide-spread benevolence of the community, and the central legislation of the land: and we shall continue to act in this spirit of earnestly proclaimed championship of the poor.

A month later they still asserted, "We will stand by the poor with our latest word and breath--proclaim and redress their grievances--sympathising with their sorrows, their suffering, and their wrongs." The editors blamed Chartist orators for stirring up the crowds, and even more strongly denounced the Anti-Corn Law League, which some suspected of being behind the initial wage reductions, as "exercising too fierce, dangerous, and illegitimate a power." In the end the riots were, for the ILN, a "sad catastrophe of madness," for food could not be obtained by the breach of the peace. When tranquillity was restored, it was time to focus again on the public distress. The "paramount question" was the real cause of the outbreaks.

> If it be found that it arose from the actual discomfort of the people, owing to pinching poverty and the absence of such means as are needful for the decent sustenance of humble life in England, then some bold and effectual step should be taken to remedy so great, so solemn, so truly disastrous an evil.
>
> And this has been our great contention on the part of the poor--this we put in terms of glowing earnestness before Parliament closed its doors upon the people--this we wrote for, hoped for, prayed for, and that with heart and soul. Nor are we without trust, that what has occurred will have the strongest moral influence upon our rulers, and that, as soon as anxious wisdom and philosophy can devise the balm that should lull the spirit and be poured into the bosom of poverty, legislation will at once commence its active functions, and the Government diffuse something like a smile of cheerfulness over the shadowy features of that squalid want which, if bad to contemplate, must be worse to bear. The noises of agitation may be comparatively hushed; the barb of sedition may be blunted or seethed in corrosion; the golden harvest may shake its waving wealth before the anti-corn-law leaguer, even though its sign of plenty should dim the gladness of his eye; the shouting for the Charter may well be tolerated among the other harmless "Cries of London;" but in the restored repose of the moment, in the confidence of the popular mind, the poor must not for an instant be forgotten now.[25]

This persistent attention to the problem of poverty and steady sympathy with the poor and oppressed led the ILN's editors to take up the cause of the underdog in a number of other instances, too. When, in the spring of 1844, a bill for enclosing common land was proposed, the editors pointed out that the argument that enclosing the land would provide employment for the poor--who would be hired to build the fences--was but thinly disguised self-serving. "The evil of all these encroachments on recognised rights is," the editors explained, "that those who suffer most from them have no voice in the matter." They were pleased when, a few months later, the bill was shelved, as it could bring no advantage "but to the rich man who can buy, and build, and plant."[26] In the same spirit,

a city tax upon coals to raise revenue was opposed because it would fall most heavily on the poorer classes.[27] And when certain philanthropists took great pride in "improving" the poor districts of London, the editors agreed that improvements in housing certainly were needed and that the country had the resources for a "great social experiment" in housing. But, they asked, when poor neighborhoods were leveled to be improved, were the inhabitants likewise to be improved? In reality, what the philanthropists called "nests of filth and depravity" were often simply "the abodes of whole masses of honest and laborious poverty." And where can these masses of poor go? "To congratulate ourselves, when we have destroyed them, on having razed to the ground a centre and resort of crime, is quieting the public conscience by the semblance of an excuse for any exertion beyond what is necessary to benefit ourselves."[28]

A great many leaders and editorials in the ILN's first two years were given to a discussion of the administration of justice in the kingdom and the conditions and purposes of imprisonment. This concern was announced in the journal's second leader:

> Thus, in keeping our eye upon the action of daily life, we shall most narrowly watch the administration of justice. The decisions of our magistrates, we at once declare shall be branded if they be not just; and the power of "brief authority" shall infringe upon no social liberty of our fellow-subjects, without the rod of castigation being fearlessly applied by us "to him who does the wrong."

True to their word, the editors called public attention to numerous cases which demonstrated that "justice in the domestic life of the land is unevenly and ungraciously administered in all its minor jurisdictions."[29] The inordinate amount of attention given to such cases, and to instances

of police brutality, drunkenness, and deception,[30] may arise in part from the ILN's reliance in its first year upon the reports of penny-a-liners, which, specializing as they did in police court cases, brought the workings of justice before the editorial eye more frequently than perhaps such problems warranted. But the journal's concern for the inequities of English justice was genuine, and stemmed, once again, from its concern for England's poor. An editorial of June 1843 put it this way:

> Nothing is more calculated to breed feelings of irritation and discontent among the people, or to induce in the minds of the humbler classes of the community the idea that they are regarded by their richer and more fortunate brethren as a separate and distant caste, created only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, to minister to the cravings of luxury or swell the hordes of avarice, than the awarding by law of disproportionate punishments for trifling offences.[31]

In addition to calling for an equality in the administration of justice, the ILN called for "a simplification of all the forms and means of obtaining justice," an end to imprisonment for debt, and for a reform of Chancery, "one of those awful powers whose greatness cannot handle small matters without crushing them."[32] Likewise the editors were concerned with the conditions in prisons and the treatment of prisoners--they condemned the silent system, for example--and gave considerable discussion to the purposes of imprisonment, which they saw as "a double purpose,--the prevention of crime, and the reformation of criminals." "We have ever contended," they maintained,

> for a cessation of all harsh and unnecessary cruelties and restrictions in the treatment of prisoners, and for the adoption of such ameliorated regulations as might conduce to their health and moral and religious improvement in accordance with the principles of Christian humility, and as sanctioned and upheld by medical science.[33]

Of less seriousness, but equal concern to the editors of the ILN was the provision of wholesome recreations for the poor. Health and recreation were, the editors pointed out, second only to sustenance, and amusements "uncontaminated by the association of debauchery and drink" were what was needed. If amusement and recreation could be combined with instruction, so much the better, but one could not expect the working classes to spend their brief leisure hours in self-improvement only--this unrealistic expectation had doomed the Mechanics' Institutes to failure.[34] Throughout the 1840s the editors of the ILN argued for public walks, parks, and playgrounds, the resort of the "smoke-dried" city dweller, and urged that exhibits, museums, and cathedrals be open to the public without charge, criticizing the elitism of the aristocracy for assuming that "painting and sculpture . . . were never intended for other eyes than theirs."[35] They protested the Sunday closing of Temple gardens, and in 1850, when the Sabbatarian movement threatened to restrict the opening of shops and parks and the operation of public transportation on Sunday, and succeeded in temporarily halting mail service on Sunday--and the delivery of Sunday papers--they denounced this "gloomy fanaticism." Sunday was to be rather a day of "cheerful piety," and they contended that "the common sense as well as the social habits of the people, would not tolerate such an interference with the public health, the public morality, and the public liberty." Charles Mackay, who claimed that "Sunday in London is a day sufficiently gloomy; but it is cheerfulness itself compared with a Sunday in Glasgow and Edinburgh," had strong feelings about the tyrannical nature of the Sabbatarian movement, and no

doubt had a good deal to do with the ILN's firm stand on this issue.[36] The editors commended the "orderly, decent, and respectful" behavior of the "humbler community" in attendance at exhibitions and the theater, and were indignant when a group of charity boys visiting the National Gallery were required by authorities to place their left arm on the railing that runs in front of the paintings and look at them "over the left." Unless the boys could have the common freedom of every visitant, they declared, even the warmest charity was unwelcome. Later, like many contemporaries, the ILN noted particularly the "good feeling" displayed by the "crowd of respectable people, to whom shillings are matters of importance," who attended the Great Exhibition on Shilling Days.[37]

Finally, the case of Ireland in the 1840s provides almost a model of the ILN's attitude toward the poor and its approach to problems of public concern. Ireland, always a running sore in the side of Britain's body politic, felt the distress of the "hungry forties" even more severely than did England. Hard on the heels of the general trade depression and Daniel O'Connell's Repeal agitation came a blight that rotted potatoes in the ground and wiped out the staple food of some six millions. If the condition of England was fearful, the condition of Ireland was catastrophic. During the winter of 1847-48 more than one thousand people were dying a week, of starvation, exposure, and disease, for now typhus spread rapidly in Dublin. In March 1848 it was estimated that 240,000 people had perished. Crimes of violence and incendiarism showed a startling increase, and always there was the fear of armed revolt against British rule.[38] The editors of the ILN never doubted Britain's

responsibility for the situation in Ireland, or the government's duty to rectify it. Though they had no sympathy with O'Connell's Repeal movement, they pointed out that the British government was doing little to convince the Irish that Repeal was not a good idea. The Poor Law was inoperative, the rents absurdly high, and, if the absentee landlords were responsible for abuses, they were "exactly what bad laws have made them."[39] When it became apparent that the second potato harvest in a row was destroyed by the blight, and that famine and disease were widespread, the editors sent James Mahony to Ireland to record the distress for British eyes, and called for immediate government action--to provide employment but most of all to provide relief.[40] Though the generous response of the English people to the subscription for Ireland was applauded, the editors warned that "some course of policy . . . must be taken to prevent the casual demand on charity from becoming the basis of a social system." "Charity will not avail when it is a whole nation that asks relief." The course of policy the ILN ultimately recommended was, in addition to reform in the Irish Poor Law, Peel's project to infuse capital into the island and to settle a "proprietary peasantry" on waste lands.[41]

The ILN's emphasis on the "condition-of-England" question, and the condition of Ireland, the steady sympathy for the poor, and the judging of events and issues from their point of view are somewhat unexpected in a journal that in these same early years was so insistent that its readers were middle class. The editors doubted the effectiveness of private charity and at times pointed out the self-serving nature of philanthropic

enterprises; they described the confusion and inefficiency of privately owned utility and transportation companies and called for public regulation and management of municipal water supplies and sewage, and, as we shall see shortly, railways; they sympathized with rioters though not with riots and those who instigated them. Surely such opinions could not always have been popular with England's middle classes, who were the stalwarts of her charitable organizations, the stockholders of her businesses, and the captains of the industries struck by riots.

Except for the disclaimer--that the ILN "has not addressed itself to the very classes upon whose condition it reflected"[42]--many of the opinions and attitudes surveyed thus far in this chapter are much like those one would expect to find in the regular Sunday press, addressed unabashedly to the working classes. But in the Sunday papers of the period, one would find much more. Radical politics were a primary appeal of the Sunday press; politics, for the ILN, were secondary. The other Sunday papers generally gave considerable space to exposés of the corruption and inefficiency of politicians and the cruelty and greed of employers. They were ever ready to attack established institutions--the Church, political parties, Parliament. And they often actively promoted various programs for reform--generally Chartism, or at least the Anti-Corn Law League, some out of genuine political commitment, others from a realization of the profit that might be made from radical politics.[43] The ILN, in contrast, made little mileage out of political scandals. Its editors limited their attacks to specific abuses; rarely did they take on institutions as a whole, and never did they distrust the ultimate

effectiveness of Parliament and British law. While they supported legislative measures for effective reform, they advocated no program, either of party or of political pressure group. The six Chartist proposals, for example, were never considered in its pages, not even mentioned in order to be refuted. Nor had the editors much comment on the program of the Anti-Corn Law League. Typical was the gloss they offered in considering the various proposals before Parliament at the beginning of the session in 1843: "We are silent on the Corn-laws." As we have seen, they denounced the League's alleged activities during the riots of 1842, and exclaimed that "the goading a man with the acuteness of his own sufferings, is at once the most heartless and malicious of human alternatives of vengeance." But concerning the pressure to repeal the Corn Laws they never said more than that they were "not mad enough to attribute all the evils that now attack the poor to the pressure of the corn-laws alone."[44] Even in 1845 and 1846, when it was evident that Peel would change his mind and that the Corn Laws would fall, the editors simply reported the debates in Parliament without comment, and never took sides in the controversy.

Then, too, however strong, even radical, were some of the opinions expressed by the editors of the ILN in its early years, they were muted in a journal that gave leaders to the discussion of a great many other matters and its pages to so much else--to the Queen and public ceremonies, to literary and dramatic reviews, to foreign wars, the turf, chess, and a myriad of interests. In fact, the editors severely criticized journals that capitalized on examples of misery, cruelty, and crime.[45] The journal's

most notable feature, its illustrations, dealt only rarely with the "condition-of-England" question and its opinion on matters concerning England's poor. The editors had exclaimed in the journal's first leader, "How may we lend muscle, bone, and sinew to the tone taken and the cause espoused, by bringing to bear upon our opinions, a whole battery of vigorous illustration."[46] And it is true that James Mahony's pictures of Ireland portrayed the extreme poverty of that land; that the barren interiors of the homes of Dorsetshire peasants were displayed in 1846 to focus public attention on the condition of the laboring classes there; that illustrations of the facilities of a ship for transporting prisoners were introduced "in the hope of fixing, by our graphic details, the attention of the reader upon the economy of this penal system."[47] But these examples are hard to come by, and in spite of the intentions proclaimed in the journal's opening number, illustrations were almost never selected for purposes of moral and political suasion. If touching on social questions at all, they were more likely to be on the solution than on the problem--of the wards provided for the destitute, for example, rather than on the destitute in need of shelter.[48] Ingram no doubt realized what the editors of the Daily Graphic articulated some years later: that "scenes involving misery, and the more unwholesome phases of social life" were a "positive detriment" to an illustrated paper in the same way that portraits of criminals and pictures of crimes and executions might be.[49] Literal depictions of the conditions in which the lower classes lived and worked would be, to his middle-class audience, as shocking as pictures of crime, and equally likely to bring that blush

to the cheek. Then, too, too many of them would have shifted the paper's emphasis from celebrating the triumphs of the age to bemoaning its failures. It is interesting to note that of the illustrations of England's social problems that appear in the ILN in its first decade--and nearly all are mentioned in this chapter, more depict conditions elsewhere--in Ireland or Dorsetshire--than in the squalid slums of London. Bread riots in Paris were accorded a front-page illustration and a feature article, while a food riot in the West of England, to select but one example, was only an item in "Country News."[50] Distressing scenes, if one had to view them at all, must not be too close to home.

Finally, over the course of the ILN's first decade, the working and living conditions of the industrious classes improved somewhat. Trade revived in the late 1840s, and in 1850 England entered a decade of prosperity. In addition, legislative reform and philanthropic enterprises had combined to ameliorate the worst distresses, and the miseries of the poor no longer occupied a considerable portion of the ILN's attention. Toward the end of 1852, the editors wrote, "The 'condition of England' question, that a few short years ago was of such painful interest, is now most cheering." They went on to point out, "With cheap food and steady employment, the people once believed and felt to be so dangerous, are happy and contented."[51] This sentence is particularly interesting, for it exemplifies an important change in attitude toward the poor that had taken place since 1842. In the early 1840s, the hardships, injustices, and deprivations endured by the poor engaged the editors' sympathies and moved them to call for reform. As the decade approached its end, however,

more often than not it was anxiety over the so-called classes dangereuses that motivated the ILN's efforts in that direction. The editors who had championed the poor had come to fear them; where they had sympathized they now distrusted. It is clear that the journal's gradual de-emphasis on the miseries of the poor cannot be attributed to returning prosperity alone. In the rest of this chapter I want to look at a few of the matters other than poverty that attracted the repeated attention of the editors of the ILN and note particularly the ways in which the journal's strong opinions on poverty, the poor, and the purposes of reform were modified over the course of its first decade.

Many matters, even matters of reform, that were discussed in the ILN's leaders and editorials had little to do with England's poor. One issue of constant concern throughout the journal's first decade was the income tax. In 1842 Peel reintroduced this tax, abolished at the end of the Napoleonic wars, as a temporary measure to bolster the faltering Exchequer. It was never popular, but proved, this time, to be permanent. The editors of the ILN objected immediately that "toiling industry"--or "professional exertions," as they later put it--should be made to pay as heavy a contribution as "realized wealth." The property tax, they felt, was just, but the state ought to recognize the difference "between the perishable salary and the annuity derived from funded or landed property."[52] They also objected to the "inquisitorial character" of the tax, which required the exposure of trade confidences, "directly in contradiction to the whole commercial spirit of England," "an intrusion into every home,

but little compatible with the principles of social liberty."[53] Throughout the decade the editors drummed home the same arguments, but to no avail. The tax was renewed regularly, in spite of the increasing stability of the Exchequer and even the surplus that began to accumulate by the 1850s. Though still protesting its inherent injustice, the editors at length resorted to attacking the inequities of its various provisions and argued that if the tax on income was to be permanent, it should at least be fair. But they were never really reconciled to it.[54]

In the mid-1840s, as England's railway mania approached dizzy heights, the editors of the ILN accorded a good deal of attention to the risks of rail travel and the irregularities of railway management. As they had argued in the case of sanitary reforms--that water supplies and sewage were matters of public concern and public right and so should be matters under cooperative public control--so they pointed out that railways, as a public accommodation and public service, ought not to be under private control. If nothing else, government should regulate fares, set and enforce safety standards, and more carefully supervise the sale of stocks and the amount of dividends to prevent speculation.[55] The same principles applied to other enterprises providing public services or accommodations. The editors argued that coach roads ought not to be the property of individuals, and that all roads, except for national highways, should be locally taxed and maintained.[56] When the boilers on the Cricket, a steamer that transported passengers from the Strand to London Bridge for a half-penny, blew up and killed six people, the editors pointed to the inadequacy of the "commercial conscience." "It

is difficult," they observed, "to fix the limit of Government interference in the private affairs of life," but the public ought to be protected from the avarice of companies and public conveyances.[57]

In the spirit of the age the ILN called for reform in just about everything, and reform generally meant increased government interference. The editors asked for new regulations concerning street noise and smoke emissions; they demanded reform in the army, in the post office, in the colonial office, in the customs office, in the patent office, in the Corporation of London, in the game laws, the quarantine law, in copyright and libel laws, in the Jewish disability law, in the management of savings banks, in medical and pharmaceutical standards, and, somewhat incongruously, in hats. "The very word 'Reform' is out of fashion," the editors protested in 1850, "and those who, in spite of the fashion, persist in calling and in thinking themselves Reformers, cannot find a question or a principle of agreement, but dispute amongst each other, with most unteachable pertinacity." But reform in the wearing of hats, which they called a "nuisance," was necessary. "In all seriousness," they concluded, "we hope that the days of the tubular hat are numbered."[58]

In spite of the announcement in the second leader that the journal's attention would be directed primarily to domestic matters, the consideration of foreign affairs occupied a good deal of the editors' time in the paper's first decade. England's colonial wars might not be exactly "foreign" affairs, but in the editors' commentary on them we can see emerging the attitudes toward empire and Britain's place in the world that dominated Britain's imperial period in the later part of the nineteenth century. The ILN's opinion on the expansion of the empire during

the period was mixed. The editors deplored the war against the Kaffirs in South Africa, an "ignoble" war, "waged against an enemy whom it was no glory to subdue," for an advantage that was not worthy of the cost.[59] The wars in the East, however, in China, India, and Burma, they worked very hard to justify, usually pointing out that atrocities against the British had forced military action, as they did in 1849: "the restlessness, treachery, and daring of the Sikhs left us no alternative but the absorption of the Punjaub." Of the war in Burma, they affirmed,

> The country is sufficiently well informed of the disinclination of the British Government to extend its territory in India, and of the proverbial perfidy, or, at least, unreliability, of the jealous and vindictive Oriental potentates by whom we are surrounded on every frontier, to doubt that the war on our part is a necessary one.[60]

Such statements are a little strained, however, and at times the editors admitted that the conquest in the East was "not unalloyed, for it is not all recognizable by the purer principles of Christianity." In one editorial the editors exposed the hypocrisy of the pious platitudes by which the colonial expansion was normally justified and denounced England's treatment of native populations:

> Are we, then, self-deluded or misrepresented? We fear that the history of our acquisitions in India, as well as of our colonization in the South Seas, will prove that on the score of humanity and justice, we have but little cause for self-gratulation. . . . The perfidy and injustice by which our vast Indian empire has been obtained is notorious, and a matter of history. . . . Poor victims of the unjust usurpation which we, in our self-complacency, call the progress of civilization, the aboriginal natives pay dearly for our presence on their shores. Forced or tricked out of the possession of the lands which they, however rudely, cultivated, they obtain from the Europeans only famine and death, habits of dissipation and idleness, and new and aggravated penalties of vice.

Elsewhere they pointed out that however it may shock British feelings, the forcible possession of a country held by savages is inevitably a "war of extermination," and they regretted former British treatment of the aborigines in North America.[61] But, belying these sympathies, the editors eventually came to justify most colonial wars and the extension of British rule by pointing to the benefits it brought the natives themselves. Even as they exposed British usurpation in India the editors rejoiced to see the Scindians "exchange the tyranny of their native despots for the mild and paternal rule of the British Government." When the strong nations of the West settle in the East, they explained, armed conflict is unavoidable, and "bad as the means may appear," such wars provided an "impulse to the civilization of the long stagnant, purulent, and festering world of Asia."[62]

This unabashed belief in the moral superiority of British civilization informed a great deal of the ILN's thinking on foreign affairs. If Americans were crude, their presidents ill-spoken, and their politics "madness," they were at least Anglo-Saxons, and although their lust for territory was rapacious, they were, in the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, and the ill-conceived expedition against Cuba, merely acting out an inevitable destiny to rule the whole continent. "They will do so from a natural cause always in operation," the editors wrote, "that infallibly gives dominion over the weak into the hands of the strong, over the idle to the industrious, over the apathetic to men of energy."[63]

If "the inferior races of Spanish descent" had no right to hold Spain's old empire in the New World, neither had the Spanish in the Old

World any claim to the morality by which national undertakings ought to be guided. The editors pointed to the atrocities and extremes of the Spanish insurrection in the early 1840s and the intrigues accompanying the question of the Spanish marriages as examples of Spain's outmoded civilization.[64] As for the struggles of Continental peoples to achieve constitutional government, culminating in the violence of 1848, they only proved to demonstrate the superiority of British civilization, where constitutional government evolved gradually and naturally.[65] The real results of these revolutions were the re-establishment of despotism and the denial of liberties. Continental peoples still debated the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, while in England the country's leaders could direct their attention to "questions which affect the health, the comfort, the rational amusement, and the physical and moral well-being of the masses" and the people had "leisure and opportunity to labour and to think, to increase the sum of human enjoyment and human knowledge." With the complacency and self-satisfaction that would be hallmarks of the Victorian outlook after mid-century, the editors of the ILN declared:

> The steady character of our people, the invincible commonsense of all our classes, our industrious habits, our enterprising and speculative turn of mind, and our conviction that, bad as our system of Government may be in some respects, it is infinitely superior to any other that exists around us for the blessings of real liberty which it confers upon the people generally, have secured tranquillity for us, whilst all around us has been disturbed.[66]

The revolutions in Europe were, of course, followed avidly by the ILN, especially the events in France; Henry Adams noted that "the English mind took naturally to rebellion--when foreign."[67] Early in

the decade the editors of the ILN expressed about as much admiration for Louis Philippe as any Franch leader was likely to get, noting his "consummate tact, judgment, and courage." But by 1847 they were beginning to comment that his appointment of family members to lucrative government posts had revealed that he was "self-seeking, avaricious even to sordidness."[68] When the revolution came, in February 1848, they attributed it to the Bourgeoise King's corruption and his crushing authoritarianism. At the same time they worried lest France not be able to produce a man "able to bridle the fierce democracy." Initial sympathy with the French people and the democratic ideals of the Revolution quickly dissolved with the emergence of a strong communist movement, though the ILN seemed more worried lest the revolution foment French aggression, as in 1789, than over the establishment of a workers' state.[69] Louis Blanc, at first commended for his good intentions if misguided in his theories, was shortly denounced, with his followers, as a dangerous theorist and fanatic. Later, in 1849, the subject of communism received detailed analysis, and ultimate dismissal, from a correspondent identified only as T. H. J.[70] When the ascendancy of Louis Napoleon looked likely, the editors of the ILN were disheartened; should he gain total French support, they sighed, "it would prove that the French at present are utterly unfit for constitutional liberty--that they are slaves in heart, and require a tyrant to flatter them by shows while he ruled them with a rod of iron." The ILN's opinion that in Louis Napoleon, later Napoleon III, France got only what she deserved changed little over the course of the next few years, as the editors followed the political scene in France

with an intensity never accorded the maneuverings and intricacies of British politics. They did, however, acknowledge Louis Napoleon's ability and even admired his talent in bringing order to the French people and so filling perhaps their greatest need.[71]

I have noted the ILN's attention to foreign affairs, the income tax, the regulation of railways, and other reforms of the period, to demonstrate that the journal's attention to the poor, significant as it was in the early years, was by no means single-minded. I now want to turn to the journal's consideration of an issue that commanded a good deal of attention from the late 1840s on and displays the editors' change in attitude toward poverty and the poor--the question of national education.

In March 1843, in response to a proposal submitted to Parliament by Lord Ashley, the editors announced that national education, specifically the education of the working classes, was "a beautiful purpose--a purpose which it shall be the pride and glory of this journal to nurse into life, activity, and power."[72] In the years immediately following, however, the subject of national education did not receive the editorial attention promised. When, in 1847 and 1848, the question was again before Parliament, and Charles Mackay, who was very concerned with the issue, was associated with the journal, the editors of the ILN, in accordance with their principles generally, argued that the education of the people was the duty of the state. Private schools and charity schools simply could not keep up with the needs of the mass of the people. "It

is not safe," the editors pointed out, "to trust too much to this indirect and involuntary training, in which much depends on character and circumstances." Here is that crucial word "safe" again; it is repeated in other editorials arguing for the adoption of a state-supported system of education. The voluntary principle, the editors explained in 1848, cannot meet the needs of our "increasing population and provide for the safety of society"; a few months later they argued that the education of the mob "cannot be neglected with safety." Although in one leader the editors pointed out that less fortunate children should have the same advantages as those of wealthier parents, they again concluded their argument for national education by warning, "The future safety of these realms depends upon it."[73]

Here is a significant change in approach from that taken by the editors on most issues of the day that touched on the condition of the poor. Where they had earlier pointed to the sufferings of the poor, to their appalling working and living conditions, as reason enough for state intervention, they now pointed to the ugly mob, the fear of armed revolt, as demanding government action. Education might also check crime; it is cheaper, the editors point out, to educate criminals than to prosecute and punish them, so education was "a matter of economy, as well as expediency and philanthropy." "The Education of the People," they wrote, is "the most important of all questions to the future well-being of this country, and to the maintenance, not alone of our constitution, the envy and model of nations, but perhaps to our very existence forty or fifty years hence as an independent State." The state, then, must

act for reasons of self-preservation; the ignorance of the lower classes was not to be pitied but feared, and the suffering poor had become the classes dangereuses.[74]

This switch from sympathy to self-interest, from seeing issues at least partly from the perspective of the poor themselves to viewing them wholly from the vantage point of those with established authority and a vested interest in the status quo, is discernible in the attitudes of the ILN's editors on other questions toward the end of the journal's first decade. Where they had once objected to the so-called improvement of London's poor neighborhoods, in 1847 they juxtaposed a view of a new model lodging-house at St. Giles's with a picture of Field Lane, where stolen pocket handkerchiefs were boldly hung out on lines criss-crossing the narrow avenue; these "before-and-after" pictures pointed to the cleanliness, order, and morality that could be achieved by sanitary reforms.[75] Where they had once urged the amelioration of the criminal code and prison system by pointing to the maladministration of justice and the horrors of prison life, they came to support the same legislation for other reasons--the willingness of parties to prosecute under a more reasonable code, for example, and the monetary benefits of reforming rather than punishing.[76] Where the editors had previously shown distaste for the principles of political economy, they came to believe that capital was indeed the friend of labor, and that trade unionism could only work to the disadvantage of the working classes. Without reference to their earlier arguments in support of the regulation of factory hours and the early closing movement, they now chastized the

operatives for refusing to work the overtime demanded of them; such intransigence would only pauperize them and drive trade into the hands of foreign competitors.[77]

Where they had formerly condemned the operation of the English Poor Law, they now hailed its effectiveness--"while it looked like a burden upon the land, [it] became, in fact, a blessing upon it," they explained. Forgetting the separation of families and the demoralizing atmosphere of the workhouses, and that they had earlier contrasted these to the spirit of the old Elizabethan Poor Law, they claimed that the old law was harsh, too, and offered no standards to remedy the problems of the new.[78] A poor law, they explained in 1847, "is not a question of charity at all, but of safety and self-preservation. . . . We are firmly convinced that it has secured the peace and order of society, and left men free to the pursuits of trade and commerce, which would else have been in constant dread of convulsion."[79] In fact, where the journal's sympathies for the poor had formerly been so confirmed that not even riots could shake them, by the end of the 1840s the editors had come to make that mean--in both senses of the word--and very middle-class Victorian distinction between the "deserving" and the "undeserving" poor. While they believed that relief of the deserving poor was a "sacred duty," they resented the claims of "tramps" upon the poor rate.[80] While they had formerly seen poverty and ignorance--conditions for which the entire people of England should feel some responsibility--as the causes of crime, they now suggested "an innate depravity in the very nature of these unfortunates which no possible training could have changed." The

greatest dread of these "Arabs of the City," they cried, is to be set to work; in the same article they admitted that conditions in prisons were often better than in workhouses, yet they acknowledged no anomaly.[81] The editors of the ILN even tired of the problems of Ireland, and complained of Irish ingratitude, Irish landlords, "their own religious and party feuds, and their own listless reliance upon the easily raised but miserable root, the potato." "Great Britain," they wrote, reversing the sense of responsibility they formerly felt for Irish problems, "cannot continue to throw her hard won millions into the bottomless pit of Celtic pauperism."[82]

The journal's mid-century attitude toward the poor is also exemplified in its response to proposals for the extension of the franchise. When Hume introduced his annual motion for parliamentary reform in 1849, the editors commented, "We do not profess admiration for the scheme of Mr. Hume, or for any scheme that proposes to give ignorance and poverty the constitutional privileges of helping to make the laws that are to govern intelligence and wealth," but they warned that Parliament must not resist and deny all reforms. Yet even the journal's general reformist position was soon to lose its edge. The word "reform" has lost its charm, the editors noted, and where they had once stridently and urgently called for the reform of England's legal codes and court systems, by mid-century they had mellowed: "Time hallows even abuses," they acknowledged, "and grievances cannot be rudely and suddenly remedied in a country like England, where the public is slow and cautious, and

has rather a liking for the antique and firmly established, because it is antique and firmly established."[83]

What caused this change in attitude toward England's poor, this modification of the voice for reform? Surely the revolutionary year 1848 had something to do with it--the violence abroad and the threats of violence at home. With this alteration in mind, it is worth looking carefully at the journal's treatment of Chartist activities that year, for it forms an interesting contrast to the treatment accorded the riots in the manufacturing districts in 1842.

In the summer of 1842 the ILN devoted leading articles and editorials to discussion of the disturbances, gave its interior pages to reports summarizing events in the disturbed locales, district by district, and even provided a number of illustrations of rioters and troops, small and rather crudely done in light of the later accomplishments of the journal's artists. In 1848 the French Revolution in February commanded a double number with lavish illustrations, and all the European revolutions were summarized in a special supplement to volume 12.[84] By contrast, the paper's treatment of the Chartist agitation in Britain in that revolutionary year reveals a tendency to downplay, and even ridicule, any real threats to the domestic peace. The approach of the major Chartist demonstration of the Tenth of April was acknowledged only in the discussion it occurred in the House of Commons, which was included in the paper's regular column on activities in Parliament. The ILN also published, without comment, the government's proclamation declaring

the planned meeting illegal. After the demonstration was over, and by most standards a failure, the editors explained that it was now time to "consider seriously whether this despised Chartism have not, after all, some possible truth, and some real vitality in it." But the editors did not do so, and, in the middle-class liberal tradition, were more concerned with the ministry's suspension of the rights of free speech and assembly than with the Chartist program. The illustrations of the demonstration gave more prominence to the special constables than to the demonstrators.[85]

Other Chartist demonstrations were afforded even less acknowledgment. The violent Trafalgar Square riots of March 6-7 received only a brief, derisive notice, the participants branded as "the lowest and most disorderly characters." The Whit-Monday outbreaks were likewise treated with scorn. An illustration captioned "Chartist Excitement" showed the police force lounging, for want of anything better to do, in Bonner's Fields, and the report of the activity at Highgate was as follows:

> It was reported in the afternoon that a large body of Chartists had taken up a commanding position in this peaceful hamlet, and, consequently, that the local authorities had sent off an express for the aid of the military for their dislodgment. On inquiry, however, it was found that the only commotion was that of the elements--the rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning, descending in torrents. It is perfectly true that there were armed men observable on the roads at intervals--rustics with pitchforks--but they accounted for the possession of these formidable weapons by stating that they were haymakers.

Such derision was not at all typical of the journal's style of reporting, and may be taken as an indication of how very threatening the disturbances were considered to be. The Chartist march of May 29 across the

city was detailed in a few brief paragraphs, listing the number of participants as "some hundreds," while official accounts acknowledged ten thousand. The coordinated Chartist uprisings of mid-August received notice only in the columns on "Metropolitan" and "Country News."[86]

The Illustrated London News was not, of course, alone in affording the Chartists little sympathy or even attention in 1848; Chartist activities received scant acknowledgment in most of the moderate and established middle-class papers of the day.[87] But the limited and derisive nature of the ILN's coverage and its complete lack of sympathy with the participants are in clear contrast to its opinion on the rioters in 1842 and the championship of the poor in which the journal prided itself in its early days. This change, seen also in the journal's approach to questions of the day touching on poverty and the poor generally, was no doubt a response to the revolutionary violence and bloodshed abroad and part of an instinctive attempt on the part of Britain's middle classes generally to keep the lid on. Witness the alteration in Carlyle's emphasis from his laments for the poor in Past and Present (1843) to his fears of democracy in Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850). Like Carlyle, there were for the ILN personal as well as social reasons for this change, if a journal may be considered to have a life span with clearly marked periods of maturity. By 1850 it was grown-up, well-established, the very model of a family journal that it had set out to be. Punch, the periodical with which the ILN had so many connections, had matured over the same years, and the strident voices of both for social reform, their committed attention to social abuses, were considerably mellowed as they

entered their second decade. For the ILN this alteration cannot be considered a deliberate, or perhaps even a conscious, change in editorial policy. It is too gradual, even subtle, and as late as 1850 its opinions are still too mixed, to be thought of in the same terms as Ingram's testing of his audience's willingness to read of criminal news and concluding that they would rather not. Rather, the paper had matured; it was no longer the newcomer but the old, established friend. Ingram and his staff were older, too; by 1850 they were, with the exception of Linton, prosperous men of some standing in Britain's newspaper establishment. The revolutions on the Continent had spilled blood to no avail, and everywhere authoritarian rule seemed more strongly entrenched. England had good reason to rejoice in her domestic peace. Then, too, the times were simply more prosperous--trade had revived, there was a surplus in the treasury, and the conditions in which the poor lived and worked had been somewhat ameliorated. The increasing lack of sympathy for the poor displayed by the ILN and the moderation of its voice for reform were related to all these things.

If the ILN was in its early years the champion of the poor, before the end of its first decade it was the champion of commerce and free trade. Discussion on the Corn Laws, and of all restrictive duties and imports, was studiously avoided during the years of active agitation by the Anti-Corn Law League, but after the Corn Laws were repealed in 1846, the journal sang the blessings of free trade as its constant refrain. The editors vigorously supported the removal of duties--on paper, soap,

tea, malt, and cotton; they called for an end to the window tax, the navigation laws, and all other measures that would shackle the production of industry and restrict trade. The end of import duties and excise taxes would increase trade, and therefore employment and prosperity, they argued. In a manner reminiscent of their earlier point of view, the editors at times pointed out that the removal of certain taxes--those on paper, soap, and windows, for example--would be conducive to the health and morals of the humbler classes; a removal of the tea duty would end a tax burden that fell unfairly on the poor.[88]

In the early 1850s the ILN launched what amounted to a campaign against the taxes on knowledge--the stamp tax, the advertisement tax, and the paper tax--and leader after leader called for their repeal. The editors put forth the traditional arguments that these taxes, especially the tax on paper which they singled out as their primary target, restricted the publication and circulation of moral and educational reading material and therefore retarded the education of the lower classes; the taxes on knowledge actually promoted the circulation of "wretched and degrading trash, instead of the literature that refines, exalts, and ennobles"; they forced the "lover of books and periodicals . . . into public houses, and into habits of intemperance, to peruse the various publications which he cannot afford to buy." The editors also pointed out, in line with the point of view increasingly apparent as the paper's first decade neared its end, that "the richer classes, to whom the amount of the tax itself is no object, it subjects to the dangers that always menace society when the population is ignorant."[89] Of equal

importance with these arguments--interestingly, considering the paper's very strong support for national education and the implication of the paper duty for the dissemination of knowledge--is the free-trade argument: remove restrictive duties, and trade and employment will improve, with all their concomitant benefits for prosperity and happiness. The editors pointed out that the paper duty

> interferes with the manufacturers, which is one evil; it increases to the public the price of the commodities by at least double the amount the State receives, which is the second evil; and it increases the number of persons dependent upon the poor-rates for support, which is the third, and by no means the least.

Note that the poor rate is the focus here, not the miseries of those forced to be dependent upon it. Elsewhere they cataloged the "number of industrious persons, in a multiplicity of very dissimilar trades and professions," who were affected by this tax:

> the rag merchant, the paper manufacturer, the machinist, the type founder, the compositor, the pressman, the bookbinder, the stitcher, the ink manufacturer, the gilder, the reporter, the editor, the author, the engraver, the printseller, the wholesale and retail dealers in paper, the wholesale and retail dealers in printed books; and, lastly, all our great exporting merchants who use paper for packages, and all the petty retail dealers in every city, town, and village of the empire, who use paper to enwrap their commodities.[90]

Behind all the ILN's arguments for free trade is the firm belief that the elimination of restrictive duties would restore and augment domestic prosperity. The editors came very close to according free trade the place they formerly accorded government regulation and reform in assuring the domestic well-being, and actually hailed the repeal of the Corn Laws as responsible for securing the domestic peace:

> The great and healing measure by which the commerce of this country was freed from restrictions that impeded its expansion, and whose timely concession, there is every reason to believe, saved us from as violent a revolution as any that took place on the continent of Europe, weakened the force of the calamities that beset us and enabled us to bear up under a weight of difficulty much greater than any that had ever before afflicted this country. Under its operation, trade began to mend, the losses of bad seasons were recovered, and the recoil of Continental difficulty stopped at our shores.

Two years later, in an editorial entitled "A Beginning of a Great Change," they wrote, "Everyone knows that a great improvement has taken place in the condition of the people in connexion with an alteration in our commercial laws." This is not to say that where the ILN had formerly called for government interference, it now called for laissez-faire. Quite to the contrary, for the journal continued to advocate a larger role for government in the domestic life of the nation. But where they had formerly hailed government regulation as the panacea for England's ills, they now hailed commerce--commerce unrestricted by taxation--as the key to prosperity for all classes. Commerce, they wrote, had improved the condition of the people, improved their diet and their vigor. "It is a startling and delightful fact that, the MANY have begun to overtake the FEW in respect to material enjoyments."[91]

But free trade, for the ILN, accomplished even more, for the increased commerce between nations that its principles fostered, fostered, in turn, peace among men. Considering the effects of Peel's plan to repeal the Corn Laws in 1846, the editors hoped that "the influence of commerce and increased intercourse will evoke a larger and more generous manifestation of the spirit of peace."[92] Over the next two years the

appearance of American grain ships in the docks of famished Ireland, the ineffective diplomatic intrigues of Palmerston, and the Brussels peace conference all offered opportunities for them to note the benefits and effectiveness of commercial ties between nations, and in December 1847 they concluded, "If Free Trade should ever expand into universal commerce, it is certain that the world will see what it has rarely seen yet--a universal peace."[93] With the benefits of free trade came the spread and sharing of the benefits of industry--of railways, the telegraph, and even mail service, which also tied nations together[94]--and we come round once again to the significance of the Great Exhibition and the fitness of the ILN's celebration of it. From its early planning stages, the ILN was jubilant:

> This will be indeed a "Peace Congress", of which the kindly and beneficial influence will be felt among all civilized nations, and will teach them practically that it is the true interest of every nation upon earth to remain at peace with each other, to exchange the commodities of information of each with all, and to compete with arts not arms.[95]

For the ILN, as for so many others, the Great Exhibition was a tribute to England's peace and prosperity, its spirit of commerce and industry, and the triumph of the principles of free trade.

As the editors of the ILN approached the end of the journal's first decade, they dwelt increasingly on England's accomplishments, and spoke very little of her problems or ills. The original writing in the ILN came to focus on the characteristics of the age that had been the special province of its illustrations practically from the beginning. The journal, in other words, came to be more nearly like itself, more thoroughly

what its illustrations had already stamped it as: complacent, decent, proud of England's achievements, noncontroversial, and withal, rather bland and predictable. Looking back, it could almost seem that the journal had never really striven to be otherwise, for from the beginning it had avoided shocking its readers with scenes of poverty and deprivation and haranguing them with a particular program for reform, and it had never doubted the legislature's ability to solve England's problems. Then, too, much of its early sympathy with the poor and its insistence on reforms were in tune with the opinions of England's liberal establishment at the time, and in its important stands--its attacks on the New Poor Law, for example, or its conviction that the Anti-Corn Law League had a part in fomenting the riots in the manufacturing districts--it could easily have taken its cue from The Times. The ILN was rarely in the vanguard; the reforms it so earnestly urged had a previously established liberal constituency. The really controversial was studiously avoided--witness its silence on the Anti-Corn Law agitation, for example. The reforms the ILN advocated were generally "safe" reforms, its domestic commentary generally limited to "safe" subjects in much the same way that Jerrold and Linton had fashioned the contents of the Illuminated Magazine. And when one considers these men--Jerrold, the strident social critic, and Linton, the Chartist--and others who were closely associated with the ILN--Barnabas Brough, an ex-Chartist; Edward Miall, a radical Nonconformist; Richard Rowan Moore, an Anti-Corn Law League orator; Charles Mackay, an ardent free-trader; Henry Mayhew and Shirley Brooks, whose researches into the conditions of the laboring classes at the close

of the "hungry forties" revealed that many who worked long hours every day could not earn enough to live on, and even Ingram himself, whom Vizetelly described as "an advanced liberal"[96]--one is less surprised at the ILN's early principles and arguments than that these were not a more important part of the journal. In spite of the strong leftward leanings of the proprietor and at least some of his staff, the politics of the ILN--even its championship of the poor--were always respectable, usually noncontroversial, and simply, in the context of the entire journal, not very important--a testimony once again to Ingram's ability in shaping his staff and the standard Sunday press fare to the tastes of his announced middle-class audience.

The author of an article on the Illustrated London News in the London Journal observed, "As a political organ, the Illustrated News is possessed of little influence; nor do we believe that it aspires to the exercise of any. It is chiefly got up with a view 'to please;' and its circulation is mostly amongst families where there are young persons." "On the social and political side," noted another commentator, "there is a certain triviality in the history of the illustrated press." Opinions on social and political topics the ILN, like all newspapers, surely had, but these were never designed to be stirring. Clement Shorter sorely regretted that "the struggle of the modern editor of an illustrated newspaper is to keep all 'opinions' of a controversial character out of his journal." From his late-century vantage point it seemed to him that Charles Mackay had had, in his day, a wider field for advocating social and political opinion. And Mackay, in fact, prided himself on

giving the paper "a voice on all the political, social, and literary questions of the time." But in doing so he was not to interfere with "the pictorial illustrations of which it had the monopoly"; he was bound, above all, to please.[97] He was surely responsible for an increasing coordination and consolidation in the journal's contents and viewpoints, and under his management the varied resources of the paper were often pulled together for a single purpose. With the public protest against intermural burial in September 1849, for example, the journal printed editorials and leading articles demanding an end to burial in overcrowded city churchyards and calling for municipal regulation of sanitary matters. There were reports on the deaths by cholera, and on meetings to discuss the question of city burial. Mackay wrote a poem entitled "The Dying Mother: A Plea for Extramural Interments," and Thomas Miller devoted his column "Picturesque Sketches of London" to "Suburban Cemeteries and City Churchyards." And an illustrated feature pointed to the dangers of intermural interments, "placed in juxtaposition with the more sanitary plan of late years, of burying in extensive open ground in the suburbs." In a variety of ways, then, the ILN worked to focus public attention on this pressing issue. But the most telling feature was, as always, the illustrations, and these highlighted the pleasant atmosphere of the suburban parklike cemetery, not the festering city churchyard.[98]

H. R. Fox Bourne noted that in the 1840s all newspapers reflected the great public interest in social issues and reform. "The sort of work that Fonblanque had long been doing in 'The Examiner,'" he noted, "was

now done more grotesquely in 'Punch' and more picturesquely in weeklies like 'The Illustrated London News.'"[99] Even when Mackay was able to marshal the resources of the paper on a social question, the mode was--inevitably had to be--picturesque. And with the turn of the decade, England's increasing prosperity, and the approach of the Great Exhibition, it was ever more to the celebration of England's virtues and achievements that the ILN's editors tended. Their opinions became, at last, exactly what the illustrations of the journal had signified all along.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. See Charles Knight, Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century, With a Prelude of Early Reminiscences (1864; rpt. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), III, 247; Michael Wolff and Celina Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines," in The Victorian City: Images and Realities, ed. H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), II, 574; for the ILN as a picture book, see Charles Mackay, Through the Long Day; or, Memorials of a Literary Life during Half a Century (London: W. H. Allen, 1887), I, 353.
2. "Newspaper History," ILN, 27 May 1843, supp., p. 369; ILN, 25 Feb. 1843, p. 121; 13 July 1844, p. 17; see also 21 Oct. 1843, p. 262; 11 Nov. 1843, pp. 305-06; 10 May 1845, pp. 294-95; and 6 Nov. 1847, p. 294. The citations here, and throughout this chapter, are not intended as an inclusive index to the ILN's discussion of a particular issue, but rather they point to a few relevant discussions, among many.
3. ILN, 10 Dec. 1842, p. 486; 16 Jan. 1847, p. 38.
4. ILN, 14 May 1842, p. 1.
5. ILN, 17 June 1843, p. 424.
6. ILN, 13 Sept. 1845, p. 166; 18 Mar. 1848, pp. 175-76; 4 Apr. 1846, p. 223; see also 12 Oct. 1850, pp. 285-86; and an editorial criticizing the Morning Herald for turning over a confidence to the government, ILN, 27 Jan. 1844, p. 54.
7. ILN, 8 July 1843, p. 22; see also 14 May 1842, p. 10.
8. ILN, 22 Nov. 1845, p. 321; see also 8 July 1843, p. 22; 14 Dec. 1844, pp. 369-70; 31 Oct. 1846, pp. 273-74; 14 Nov. 1846, pp. 305-06; 2 Jan. 1847, pp. 1-2; and 22 May 1847, pp. 321-22.
9. ILN, 5 June 1847, pp. 353-54; see also 24 July 1847, pp. 49-50; and 26 Feb. 1848, pp. 111-12.
10. ILN, 21 May 1842, p. 17.
11. The specifics of the foregoing information, and the quotation, are from John W. Dodds, The Age of Paradox: A Biography of England, 1841-1851 (London: Victor Gollancz, 1953), pp. 58, 59, 82, 84, 91-94, 147, 161-62, 346. The quotation from Carlyle is from Past and Present (1843), bk. 1, ch. 3.
12. See ILN, 15 Apr. 1843, p. 251; 1 July 1843, p. 1; 23 Sept. 1843, pp. 193-94; 21 Oct. 1843, pp. 262, 264; 9 Dec. 1843, p. 374; and 16 Dec. 1843, p. 391.
13. ILN, 21 Oct. 1843, p. 262; see also 18 June 1843, p. 81.
14. ILN, 19 Oct. 1844, pp. 240-41; 15 May 1847, pp. 305-06; 23 Dec. 1848, p. 296; 24 Nov. 1849, pp. 337-38; see also 17 Nov. 1849, p. 326.
15. ILN, 18 June 1842, p. 81; 24 Mar. 1849, pp. 185-86.
16. ILN, 31 May 1845, pp. 337-38; 30 Mar. 1844, p. 198; 7 Dec. 1844, p. 358; see also 30 Sept. 1843, p. 209; 20 Jan. 1844, p. 33; and 18 May 1844, p. 318.
17. ILN, 18 June 1842, p. 81; 22 July 1843, p. 29; see also 25 June 1842, p. 103; and 19 Sept. 1846, p. 182.

18. See, for example, ILN, 18 June 1842, p. 86; 1 Apr. 1843, pp. 219-20; 9 Aug. 1843, p. 118; 9 Mar. 1844, p. 150; 30 Mar. 1844, pp. 193-94; 6 July 1844, p. 1; 26 Apr. 1845, pp. 257-58; and 10 July 1847, pp. 17-18.
19. ILN, 21 May 1842, p. 17; 25 June 1842, p. 102; 27 Jan. 1844, pp. 49-50; 23 Mar. 1844, p. 177; 2 May 1846, pp. 281-82.
20. ILN, 18 Nov. 1843, p. 326; 27 Jan. 1844, pp. 49-50; 7 Dec. 1844, p. 358.
21. ILN, 3 Apr. 1847, pp. 209-10; 21 Nov. 1846, pp. 320-21; 13 Oct. 1849, p. 246; 15 Dec. 1849, p. 385.
22. ILN, 8 June 1850, p. 406.
23. ILN, 11 Mar. 1843, p. 168; 20 Jan. 1844, p. 33, the reference is to the Poor Law enacted in Elizabeth's reign; 17 Feb. 1844, pp. 102-03; 20 July 1844, p. 38. For the ILN on the Poor Law generally, see also 28 May 1842, p. 38; 25 June 1842, p. 97; 6 Aug. 1842, p. 193; 18 Feb. 1843, p. 110; 25 Feb. 1843, p. 126; 28 Oct. 1843, p. 278; and 18 May 1844, p. 318.
24. ILN, 18 May 1844, p. 318.
25. ILN, 23 July 1842, p. 161; 20 Aug. 1842, p. 225; 27 Aug. 1842, p. 241. The ILN probably followed The Times in ascribing primary responsibility to the Anti-Corn Law League. See Norman McCord, The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-1846 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1958), pp. 129-30.
26. ILN, 16 Mar. 1844, p. 166; 8 June 1844, p. 366.
27. ILN, 9 Mar. 1844, p. 150.
28. ILN, 15 Nov. 1845, pp. 305-06.
29. ILN, 21 May 1842, p. 17; 3 Dec. 1842, pp. 465-66.
30. See, for example, ILN, 10 Sept. 1842, p. 273; 8 Oct. 1842, p. 342; 31 Dec. 1842, p. 534; 7 Jan. 1843, p. 6; and 23 Sept. 1843, p. 198, among others.
31. ILN, 3 June 1843, pp. 384-85.
32. ILN, 4 Feb. 1843, p. 65; 23 May 1846, pp. 329-30; see also 6 May 1843, p. 305; 1 July 1843, p. 6; and 30 Sept. 1843, p. 214.
33. ILN, 6 May 1843, p. 305; see also 7 Jan. 1843, p. 1; and 9 Dec. 1843, p. 369.
34. ILN, 29 Oct. 1842, p. 385; 7 Sept. 1844, p. 150.
35. ILN, 22 June 1844, p. 398; 15 July 1843, p. 38; see also 20 Apr. 1844, pp. 241-42; 23 Aug. 1845, p. 118; 14 Sept. 1844, p. 167; and 26 June 1847, p. 406.
36. ILN, 8 July 1843, p. 22; 15 June 1850, pp. 416-17; Charles Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections of Life, Literature, and Public Affairs: From 1830 to 1870 (London, Chapman and Hall, 1877), I, 326-35. See also ILN, 22 June 1850, pp. 433-34; 29 June 1850, p. 454; 13 July 1850, pp. 37-38; and 17 Aug. 1850, p. 130.
37. ILN, 31 Dec. 1842, p. 534; 13 Jan. 1844, p. 22; 31 May 1851, p. 476.
38. For these details, see Dodds, Age of Paradox, pp. 207, 274, 291-92.
39. ILN, 20 May 1843, p. 331; 28 Mar. 1846, pp. 201-02; see also 13 May 1843, p. 320; and 13 Jan. 1844, p. 17.
40. ILN, 13-20 Feb. 1847.

41. ILN, 9 Jan. 1847, p. 22; 19 Sept. 1846, p. 182; 5 May 1849, pp. 286-87; see also 10 Oct. 1846, pp. 230-31; 30 Jan. 1847, pp. 65-66; 27 May 1848, pp. 335-36; 30 June 1849, p. 438; and 14 July 1849, pp. 17-18.
42. ILN, 22 July 1843, p. 49.
43. Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 344-45; Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History (London: Cohen & West, 1957), p. 7; Harold Hobson, Phillip Knightly, and Leonard Russell, The Pearl of Days: An Intimate Memoir of the Sunday Times, 1822-1972 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972), pp. 38-39. For information on subsidies and other supports given Sunday papers by the Anti-Corn Law League, see McCord, Anti-Corn Law League, pp. 181-82.
44. ILN, 4 Feb. 1843, p. 65; 23 July 1842, p. 161; see also 10 Feb. 1844, p. 81.
45. ILN, 1 July 1843, p. 6.
46. ILN, 14 May 1842, p. 1.
47. See chapter 3, note 11, for the illustrations of Ireland; for Dorsetshire, see ILN, 5 Sept. 1846, pp. 156-58; for the prison ship, ILN, 21 Feb. 1846, pp. 125-26.
48. ILN, 30 Dec. 1843, pp. 418-19.
49. Henry Blackburn, The Art of Illustration, rev. J. S. Eland (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1901), p. 21; see chapter 2.
50. ILN, 10 Oct. 1846, pp. 225-26; 22 May 1847, p. 327.
51. ILN, 6 Nov. 1852, pp. 369-70.
52. ILN, 2 July 1842, p. 113; 11 Jan. 1845, pp. 17-18; 18 Sept. 1852, p. 214; see also 16 June 1849, p. 406.
53. ILN, 4 Sept. 1852, pp. 177-78; 2 July 1842, p. 113.
54. ILN, 18 Mar. 1848, p. 180; 16 June 1849, p. 406; 19 Apr. 1851, pp. 303-04; 19 July 1851; pp. 73-74; 31 July 1852, pp. 70-71.
55. See, for example, ILN, 24 Feb. 1844, p. 113; 30 Nov. 1844, pp. 337-38; 19 Apr. 1845, pp. 241-42; 2 Aug. 1845, p. 70; 26 June 1847, p. 406; 23 Oct. 1847, pp. 257-58; 17 Feb. 1849, pp. 97-98; and 21 July 1849, pp. 33-34.
56. ILN, 17 Feb. 1849, pp. 97-98; and 17 Mar. 1849, pp. 169-70.
57. See ILN, 4 Sept. 1847, pp. 145-56; and 2 Oct. 1847, pp. 209-10; see also Dodds, Age of Paradox, p. 314.
58. Concerning street noise, see ILN, 28 Apr. 1849, p. 270; smoke emissions, ILN, 28 June 1845, p. 406; reform in the army, ILN, 26 Aug. 1843, p. 129-30; 1 Aug. 1846, p. 70; 15 Aug. 1846, pp. 97-98; 6 Mar. 1847, pp. 145-46; 27 Mar. 1847, pp. 193-94; 1 May 1847, p. 278; reform in the post office, ILN, 22 June 1844, pp. 393-94; 29 June 1844, p. 414; 10 Aug. 1844, p. 86; 25 Apr. 1846, p. 270; 16 May 1846, pp. 313-14; reform in the colonial office, ILN, 1 Feb. 1845, p. 70; 11 Sept. 1847, pp. 161-62; reform in the customs office, ILN, 24 Oct. 1846, p. 262; 21 June 1851, pp. 575-76; 3 July 1852, p. 6; reform in the patent office, ILN, 30 Nov. 1850, pp. 413-14; reform in the Corporation of London, ILN, 15 Nov. 1841, pp. 593-94;

reform in the game laws, ILN, 8 Mar. 1845, pp. 145-46; reform in the quarantine laws, ILN, 4 Oct. 1845, p. 214; reform in copyright and libel laws, ILN, 13 Aug. 1842, p. 209; 10 June 1843, pp. 395-96; reform in the Jewish disability law, ILN, 26 July 1851, pp. 105-06; reform in the management of savings banks, ILN, 12 Apr. 1851, supp. p. 281; reform in medical and pharmaceutical standards, ILN, 1 Mar. 1845, pp. 129-30; 15 Nov. 1845, p. 311; reform of the tubular hat, ILN, 19 Oct. 1850, pp. 301-02.

59. ILN, 20 Mar. 1852, pp. 225-26, 239; see also 19 July 1851, p. 79; 25 Oct. 1851, p. 519; 10 Jan. 1852, p. 30; and 14 Aug. 1852, p. 110.
60. ILN, 26 May 1849, p. 335; 6 Mar. 1852, pp. 190-91; see also 11 June 1842, p. 65; 26 Nov. 1842, p. 449; 13 May 1843, p. 315; 11 Nov. 1843, p. 310; and 28 Feb. 1846, pp. 137-38.
61. ILN, 30 Dec. 1843, pp. 417-18; 12 Aug. 1843, pp. 102-03; 19 Apr. 1851, pp. 308-09; 25 Aug. 1849, pp. 129-30.
62. ILN, 10 June 1843, p. 400; 17 Apr. 1852, pp. 297-98; see also 9 Nov. 1844, pp. 289-90; 13 Oct. 1849, pp. 241-42; and 23 Aug. 1851, p. 230.
63. ILN, 18 July 1846, p. 38; see also 11 Oct. 1845, pp. 225-26; and 10 Aug. 1850, pp. 109-10. On the crudeness of American life and politics, see ILN, 23 Nov. 1844, pp. 321-22; 29 Mar. 1845, pp. 193-94; 7 Feb. 1846, p. 94; on America's lust for territory, see ILN, 6 June 1846, pp. 361-62; 4 July 1846, p. 6; 2 Jan. 1847, p. 7; 13 Nov. 1847, p. 311; 9 Mar. 1850, pp. 153-54; and 8 June 1850, pp. 401-02. For the contempt displayed by English newspapers toward foreigners generally, see Raymond Postgate and Aylmer Vallance, England Goes to Press: The English People's Opinion on Foreign Affairs as Reflected in Their Newspapers since Waterloo (1815-1937) (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1937), pp. 14, 21.
64. ILN, 10 Aug. 1850, p. 109; see also ILN, 17 Feb. 1844, p. 103; 2 Nov. 1844, pp. 273-74; and 12 Sept. 1846, pp. 161-62.
65. ILN, 5 Oct. 1844, p. 214; 11 Apr. 1846, p. 238; 19 Feb. 1848, p. 100; 28 Oct. 1848, p. 262.
66. ILN, 4 Oct. 1851, pp. 401-02; 23 Aug. 1851, pp. 224-25; 27 Apr. 1849, pp. 249-50.
67. Quoted in Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenburg, A Concise History of the American Republic (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 296.
68. ILN, 5 Oct. 1844, pp. 209-10; 3 July 1847, pp. 1-2.
69. ILN, 25 Mar. 1848, pp. 191-92; see also 26 Feb. 1848, p. 116; 11 Mar. 1848, pp. 159-60; and 4 Mar. 1848, supp., pp. 143-44.
70. ILN, 29 Apr. 1848, pp. 271-72; 20 May 1848, pp. 319-20; T. H. J.'s essays appeared in ILN, 19 May 1849, p. 326; and 14 July 1849, p. 27. T. H. J. also wrote on the "Condition of the English, Who Have Had No Revolution," ILN, 7 Apr. 1849, p. 230.
71. ILN, 17 June 1848, pp. 383-84; see also 15 Dec. 1849, p. 390; 16 Nov. 1850, pp. 378-79; 31 May 1851, p. 472; 27 Sept. 1851, pp. 385-86; 13 Dec. 1851, pp. 697-98; 20 Dec. 1851, pp. 721-22; 27 Dec. 1851, p. 761; and 4 Dec. 1852, p. 494.
72. ILN, 4 Mar. 1843, pp. 147-48.

73. ILN, 10 Apr. 1847, pp. 225-26; 16 Sept. 1848, pp. 161-62; 11 Nov. 1848, pp. 289-90; 1 Feb. 1851, pp. 65-66; see also 22 Jan. 1848, pp. 31-32; and 8 July 1848, pp. 1-2. For Mackay's views on education, see Forty Years' Recollections, I, 341-77.
74. ILN, 24 Aug. 1850, pp. 165-66; 3 Feb. 1849, pp. 65-66; 17 May 1851, p. 412; see also 24 Nov. 1849, pp. 337-38.
75. ILN, 23 Jan. 1847, p. 61; see also 4 Oct. 1851, pp. 401-02.
76. ILN, 28 Aug. 1847, p. 134; 5 Aug. 1848, pp. 65-66.
77. ILN, 10 Jan. 1852, pp. 25-26; 24 Jan. 1852, p. 87. On the ILN's support of early closing, see also the poem by Mackay, "The Early Closing Movement: The Young Men's Petition to Their Employers," ILN, 13 Jan. 1849, p. 27:

> We form no vain capricious wish,
> No idle words deliver.
> The boon we want is small to grant--
> A trifle to the giver;
> But great to us as health and strength,
> And sweet as virtuous pleasure--
> A little time at evening chime,
> An hour or two of leisure.
>
> We ask it not that we may throw
> A burden on a neighbour;
> Nor seek it, coward-like, to shun
> Our share of honest labour.
> We feel and cherish the belief,
> That, were the gift accorded,
> We'd work with double energy,
> And earn it ere afforded.
>
> * * *
>
> So may your wealth, from year to year
> Increase like corn-fields growing;
> So may your cup of mortal joy
> Be full to overflowing;
> So never may compunctious throb
> Disturb your contemplation--
> That you refused your fellow-men
> The chance of education.

78. ILN, 25 Nov. 1848, pp. 321-22; 16 Nov. 1844, pp. 305-06; 5 Dec. 1846, pp. 353-54; 20 Sept. 1845, pp. 177-78.
79. ILN, 3 Apr. 1847, p. 214.
80. ILN, 14 Oct. 1848, pp. 225-26; see also 24 Mar. 1849, pp. 185-86.
81. ILN, 29 Jan. 1848, pp. 47-48; for the ILN's earlier attitude to "Crime and Its Causes," see ILN, 11 May 1844, p. 297.
82. ILN, 3 Apr. 1852, pp. 265-66; 10 Mar. 1849, pp. 150-51; see also 16 Dec. 1848, pp. 369-70.
83. ILN, 9 June 1849, p. 391; 1 June 1850, pp. 377-78; see also 19 Oct.

1850, pp. 301-02; and 14 Feb. 1852, pp. 137-38.

84. The double number appeared on 4 Mar. 1848; the special supplement with the issue for 1 July 1848, pp. 431-42.

85. ILN, 8 Apr. 1848, pp. 228, 233; 15 Apr. 1848, pp. 239-45. For a sympathetic account of this and other Chartist activities in 1848, see R. G. Gammage, History of the Chartist Movement, 1837-1854, 2nd ed. (1894; rpt. introd. John Saville, New York: August M. Kelley, 1969), pp. 291-347.

86. ILN, 11 Mar. 1848, p. 165; 17 June 1848, pp. 391, 392; 3 June 1848, p. 353; 19 Aug. 1848, pp. 103, 110. For information on the number of participants in the Chartist march, see Raymond Postgate, Story of a Year: 1848 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1955), p. 157. Postgate takes some of his figures from the Annual Register.

87. H. R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism (1887; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), II, 125; Gammage, History of the Chartist Movement, p. 322.

88. See, for example, ILN, 16 Jan. 1847, p. 38; 23 Jan. 1847, p. 54; 4 Sept. 1847, p. 150; 5 Jan. 1850, pp. 1-2; 19 Jan. 1850, p. 33; 11 May 1850, pp. 329-30; 29 June 1850, pp. 449-50; 24 Jan. 1851, pp. 49-50; and 22 Mar. 1851, pp. 223-24.

89. ILN, 11 Jan. 1851, pp. 17-18; see also 5 Jan. 1850, pp. 1-2; 16 Feb. 1850, pp. 105-06; 20 Apr. 1850, pp. 257-58; 25 Jan. 1851, pp. 49-50; 2 Aug. 1851, pp. 137-38; 20 Dec. 1851, p. 727; 27 Mar. 1852, pp. 254-55; and 11 Dec. 1852, p. 510. These were the same arguments used by liberals to urge the reduction of the stamp tax during the agitation of the early and mid-1830s. See chapter 1, and see, too, Joel H. Wiener, The War of the Unstamped: The Movement to Repeal the British Newspaper Tax, 1830-1836 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 20-41.

90. ILN, 8 Feb. 1851, pp. 89-90; 16 Feb. 1850, pp. 105-06; see also 29 Dec. 1849, pp. 438-39; 23 Feb. 1850, pp. 126-27 (on the advertisement duty); 20 Apr. 1850, pp. 257-58; 4 Jan. 1851, pp. 1-2; 11 Jan. 1851, pp. 17-18; 8 Feb. 1851, pp. 89-90; 2 Aug. 1851, pp. 137-38; 24 Apr. 1852, pp. 313-14; 1 May 1852, pp. 329-30; and 11 Sept. 1852, pp. 193-94. On the use of the free-trade argument in the agitation of the 1830s, see Wiener, War of the Unstamped, pp. 41-43.

91. ILN, 29 Dec. 1849, pp. 433-34; 24 Jan. 1852, pp. 86-87.

92. ILN, 7 Feb. 1846, pp. 89-90; see also 21 Sept. 1844, pp. 176-77, 182; and 9 Nov. 1844, pp. 289-90.

93. ILN, 25 Dec. 1847, pp. 409-10; see also 24 Apr. 1847, p. 262; 8 May 1847, pp. 289-90; and 25 Sept. 1847, pp. 193-94.

94. ILN, 5 Jan. 1850, p. 6; 31 Aug. 1850, p. 186; 14 June 1851, pp. 542-43; 5 June 1852, p. 443; see also 6 May 1843, p. 305.

95. ILN, 20 Oct. 1849, p. 262; see also 3 May 1851, pp. 343-44, and supp., pp. 359-60.

96. For these men, see chapter 2. The Morning Chronicle's articles were reported on in the ILN, then dropped; see ILN, 24 Nov. 1849, pp. 337-38; and 8 Dec. 1849, pp. 369-70. For Ingram as "an advanced liberal," see Henry Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy

Years (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner, 1893), II, 70.

97. "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London, No. xvii--The Illustrated London News," London Journal, 19 July 1845, p. 328; C. N. Williamson, "Illustrated Journalism in England: Its Rise," Magazine of Art, 12 (Jan., Feb., Mar. 1889), 104; Clement K. Shorter, C.K.S.: An Autobiography, ed. J. M. Bulloch (N.p.: privately printed, 1927), p. 70; Mackay, Through the Long Day, I, 353, see also p. 354.
98. See the issues for 8-29 Sept. 1849; the quotation is from 15 Sept. 1849, p. 192.
99. Bourne, English Newspapers, II, 154.

Chapter 5

To Suit the Tastes of All the World

The Illustrated London News
(from a correspondent)

Our six days' work is done--the week's last night
Sees us all circled round our hearth-fire's light--
  But nothing can our minds amuse;
For we are watching ev'ry knock and ring,
In anxious hope the tardy post will bring
  The Illustrated London News.

My wife has darn'd the last unmended hose,
My daughters' worsted flowers no more disclose
  Their glowing greens, and reds, and blues;
And little Jack has left his picture-book
And waits on his low stool, with weary look,
  The Illustrated London News.

The music stands untouch'd, unheeded by--
No song nor sound breaks the monotony,
  Save when one ventures to abuse
The ling'ring post, whose tardiness would cheat
The week's last evening of its greatest treat--
  The Illustrated London News.

Hark! that's the postman's well-known knock--"All right!"
The welcome folded packet greets our sight
  And quickly changes tones and views;
Now, Alice, stir the fire, and, wife, do you
Just trim the lamp--we'll have good light to view
  The Illustrated London News.

Now, leaf by leaf, we slowly turn it o'er,
On ev'ry sketch with height'ning rapture pore.
  Dire scenes of battles, smart reviews,
A town, a tower, a mountain pass, and rill
A storm, a stranded ship, are scenes that fill
  The Illustrated London News.

A warrior chief, with spear, and sword, and crest,
A gallant horse, a modish lady drest
  In Paris Fashion's latest hues;
Rare plants, great actors, poets, birds of song,
Huge reptiles, monstrous lions, tigers, throng
  The Illustrated London News.

All novelties of science and of art,
All news of men and manners, mine and mart,
  Here in all fullness we peruse;
Fat oxen, sheep and pigs, great beasts that win
The prize for hugeness, find a place within
  The Illustrated London News.

Plays, pictures, painters, pantomime, and song,
Great politicians, all the pages throng--
  With authors, sculptors, and the muse.
In fact, all scenes on which the sun has shone,
As the globe turns, are photograph'd upon
  The Illustrated London News.

Herald of pleasure; throughout all the year,
Long may thy pictured weekly sheets appear,
  To entertain, instruct, amuse,
And may the winter, summer, autumn, spring,
With all their changes, ne'er omit to bring
  The Illustrated London News.[1]

Perhaps, on occasion, it really did happen that way. We must not underestimate the excitement the ILN's illustrations--so large, so many of them--generated among Victorian readers who were accustomed to seeing only a few engravings per month in fiction published in parts, about the same number in some of the monthly magazines, and very few, if any, in their newspapers. The publication of the Illustrated London News was an event, and if families actually did await its arrival, and did turn its pages over slowly, all gathered round the "hearth-fire's light," nothing would have delighted the proprietors of the ILN more. For it was a family paper that the ILN ever strove to be--its contents unexceptionable, offensive to neither women, nor the heads of families, nor young persons, and the journal's special appeal to this group of readers was often noted by contemporaries.[2] Another tribute to the journal, written on the occasion of its one hundredth number, proclaimed:

> Thy pen is dipp'd in honey all--
> No ranc'rous spite--no venom'd gall
> Doth stain thy pages--nothing there,
> But what the purest mind may share![3]

But the ILN also made its appeal to families by the wide variety of its contents and the multitude of the interests it spoke to. If it was, proverbially, offensive to none, it sought, at the same time, to be entertaining to all. Mason Jackson explained that the Illustrated London News

> catered for all classes. In its pages there was something for everybody. The ladies had the latest Paris fashions--to the sportsman were given pictures of racing, hunting, shooting, and fishing--ships and sailing matches were offered to the reader who was nautically minded--all the operations of the farm were pictorially displayed before the agriculturist. For the soldier there were battles--for the artist pictures of old and modern masters--for the antiquary the ruins and relics of many lands.[4]

The Illustrated London News purported to provide a panorama of the life of the times. Ingram took as his model the kinds of contents familiar to readers of the Sunday press, but, as we have seen, he reshaped his paper's news reports and political and social commentary to meet the needs and interests of his middle-class audience. And he greatly expanded that third segment of the standard Sunday press fare--the attention to popular amusements and leisure activities, to literature, the theater, the arts, sports, and so forth--that contemporaries still styled, after the habit of the eighteenth century, the "magazine interest." Illustrations were, of course, the ILN's chief innovation, but its expanded entertainment features were part of a general movement in the Sunday press during the early 1840s. As in the 1820s, the Sunday papers of the 1840s--the Sunday Times, the Weekly Dispatch, Lloyd's Newspaper, the ILN, and

others--enlarged the scope of their contents to include material formerly produced and distributed separately, and the primary emphasis on politics that had been characteristic of the Sunday press earlier in the century began to give way, especially in the ILN, to the concept of the Sunday paper as a general news miscellany, which is the form familiar to us today. This kind of expansion in contents, as we have seen, is described by Raymond Williams as the recurring tendency in the history of journalism.[5]

In this chapter I want to survey the magazine interest that constituted so important and attractive a feature of the ILN, with particular attention to the journal's innovations in this area and to the ways in which the editors and proprietors sought to cater to the expanding leisure interests of England's increasingly dominant, and increasingly leisured, middle classes. I then want to look carefully at one important component of the journal's magazine interest--its attention to literary matters and its featuring of literary materials, specifically poetry and fiction. Here the journal's essential character and appeal are reflected in detail.

Like the ILN's news contents, the staple components of its magazine interest appeared in preassigned columns, even in preassigned sections, of the paper, but not nearly so regularly, for whenever the "press of news" was great, it was the book review section, the installment of the novel, or the account of Academy exhibitions that was postponed. But this same lack of pressure for currency also made it

possible for these entertainment features to be illustrated, and they frequently were.

Literary and dramatic reviews had been regular attractions of British newspapers, both of the established middle-class press and of the Sunday press, since before the end of the eighteenth century; as literature will be dealt with in detail later, it is fitting to begin this survey of the ILN's entertainment features with a look at its attention to the goings-on at the theater and concert hall. It is important to note here that the ILN's coverage in this area was not limited to the relatively sophisticated productions of drama and what we might call classical music, but included the multitude of entertainments that were offered in London's theaters and concert halls--increasingly respectable, as England approached mid-century, and increasingly patronized by the middle classes.

Dramatic criticism and gossip from the theatrical world were a staple of the ILN from the beginning. At first pictures of scenes from current productions at London's numerous theaters formed an occasional illustrated feature article, but before the end of 1842, "The Theaters" was a regular column. Throughout the decade Mark Lemon, Albert Smith, J. A. Heraud, and no doubt others, too, offered assessments of the current productions at Covent Garden, the Royal Victoria, the Haymarket, the Adelphi, the Surrey, Her Majesty's, and Drury Lane. The reviews were generally favorable, and rarely overcritical. The reviewer in October 1843 even found it in his heart to praise Mark Lemon's "most eminently and deservedly successful "Old Parr, which, like Punch itself,

found good sport in the legendary gentleman who had been the inspiration of Ingram's patent medicine. But Old Parr was panned in The Times, and its first performance was also its last. The ILN's theatrical interest was highlighted by a great many illustrations which serve to remind us of the variety of entertainments, in addition to plays, available in London's theaters at mid-century. There were illustrations of tragedies and farces, but, in addition, of ballets and opera, of the circus at Astley's Royal Amphitheatre, of Tom Thumb at Egyptian Hall, of dioramas and popular entertainments like Albert Smith's "Ascent of Mont Blanc," and, during the Christmas holidays, full-page illustrations--often by Crowquill, whose talent for caricature was superb--of the well-loved pantomimes that were a seasonal tradition to Victorians. In 1842 a regular series of "Theatrical Portraits"--with portrait and short biography--featured Charles Kean, William Macready, and other stars of the day. And throughout the early and mid-1840s there appeared a column of theatrical gossip entitled "Dramatic and Musical Chit-Chat."[6]

Intimately related were reviews of musical productions--of John Hullah's chorus of a thousand at Exeter Hall; of M. Jullien's melodramatic programs of waltzes, polkas, and quadrilles, and thrilling show-stoppers punctuated by real fireworks, at Drury Lane; of Philharmonic Society concerts; of performances of John Orlando Parry, harpist, pianist, and singer; and, above all, of the incomparable Swedish Nightingale, Jenny Lind, whose engagement at Her Majesty's in 1847 sent all England into ecstasy.[7] In Mackay's time music reviews were written by George Hogarth and Charles Louis Gruneison. There were also regular notices

of new music, of books on musicology and music theory, and of musical journals such as Mainzer's Musical Times.

A novel departure was the ILN's printing, on its large folio pages, of sheet music itself. In the early years there were numerous songs with lyrics by the rhymester F. W. N. Bayley, and an equal number from J. Augustine Wade, often embellished by a large engraving on a pertinent subject. In the spring of 1844, shortly after the polka was introduced at Paris--"a rage in Paris currently," said the ILN--Jacques Offenbach composed "The Polka Dance," expressly for the Illustrated London News. Mark Lemon wrote the lyrics for "One Kindly Word before We Part," and Mrs. Gilbert à'Beckett composed the melody for this sentimental ballad, which appeared in 1846. In June 1848, after the convulsions on the Continent during the spring, "Peace at Home" was celebrated by G. Douglas Thompson, and set to music by Edward J. Loder. And beginning about this time there were a great many songs with lyrics by Charles Mackay. When the Great Exhibition opened in 1851, Mackay wrote "Trade and Spade" to hail England's industry, and Henry Russell, a popular singer and song writer, composed the melody.[8]

By the time the Exhibition had closed, the ILN's Exhibition Supplements had proved such a success that Ingram determined to continue issuing regular supplements "on some subject unconnected with the news and politics of the time, and which might recommend it [the ILN] more especially to ladies and families." At George Hogarth's suggestion, the journal initiated a series on the "National Music of England," for which Charles Mackay wrote the songs and Sir Henry Bishop, professor of music

at Oxford, arranged traditional melodies that were to be thus rescued "from oblivion"; illustrations by Gilbert, Harvey, Meadows, Read, and Thomas added to the attractions. The supplements were warmly received by the press, but subscribers were unhappy, complaining that "they occupied the space which ought to have been devoted to the news of the day, or, better still, to a novel or a series of short tales and essays"; that the pages of the ILN were too large and limp to stand on the piano or hold in the hand; that the songs were old-fashioned and hard to sing; conversely that the accompaniments were much too simple and bare. In addition, those in the music trade feared that their sales would suffer. So when Sir Henry Bishop died halfway through the project, Ingram declined to engage a successor, and Mackay's "long-cherished project came to an inglorious collapse." Subsequently, however, some of the ballads were printed in book form by the "National Illustrated Library," and Mackay, who edited the collections, made certain to exclude ancient songs "somewhat too free in their phraseology for the squeamish ears of these prudish moderns."[9] The career of the "National Music of England" provides an interesting insight into Ingram's efforts to heighten his paper's appeal to families, his responsiveness to his readers' opinions, and his use of his auxiliary publications to supplement the work of the ILN.

Another major component of the ILN's magazine interest was its attention to the fine arts, both national and international; to British industrial arts; and to the art market. Art, in fact, for the ILN was a very widely, even loosely, defined term. The editors clearly saw the

journal itself as promoting the arts and elevating artistic taste, not merely in its art illustrations--its reproductions of famous paintings, for example--but through all of its illustrations. Much to the point here is their reflection, after a year of publication, on the sources of the journal's success:

> We perceived that a love of art, not merely for its own sake, but from a deep and dearly-cherished consciousness of those high aims which its cultivation will promote and perpetuate, was growing up in the national soul of our beloved country; we determined, at all hazards, to lend our aid towards the work of directing this love of art to those high and noble purposes which we believed it best qualified to subserve--to plunge into the great ocean of human affairs, and to employ the pencil and burin in the work of illustrating not only the occurrences of the day, but the affections, the passions, the desires of men, and the faculties of the immortal soul. In this field our labours, we would fain hope, have not been in vain. We have shown how the greatest of the fine arts may be brought home to the business and bosoms of the whole human race--how all their business and all their arrangements, whether in the senate-house or the cathedral, the palace or the cot, the theatre or the market, the public walk or the garden-alley, the college-green or the village-common, the publicity of the meeting or the retirement of the domestic hearth, may be brought in all their entirety before the scrutinizing gaze of the great people of our days.[10]

Evidently the editors did not find that their claims for artistic merit in any way compromised their claims for the truth, fidelity, or accuracy of the journal's news illustrations.[11] Rather, their perception of art, including as it did old masterpieces, narrative paintings, actuality drawings, sentimental prints hung on cottage walls, industrial design, reproduction of Greek vases, and the bric-a-brac and whatnots that cluttered Victorian interiors, was what we might today call middle-brow, and what Matthew Arnold objected to as Philistine. Very early in its career the journal made clear its artistic predilections. In June 1842

it presented its readers with a quarter-page (very large, in terms of the journal's ability at this early date) reproduction of "Thisbe Listening at the Wall," a lithograph engraving currently being offered free to new subscribers to the German Art Union. Examining this lush, dramatic composition, the ILN art reviewer proclaimed that those who thought that art unions did not disseminate a discriminating taste in art were wrong.[12]

The journal also made it clear that it would turn its talents and resources to illustrating paintings, sculpture, and other treasures of the art world. "Fine Arts" was a regular column, containing reviews of exhibitions at the Royal Academy, British Institution, Westminster, and even the Louvre. With most of his contemporaries, the ILN art reviewer was generally a little disappointed in the quality of Royal Academy paintings, especially with the overemphasis on portraiture, and critical of the domination of the Academy by the trade: "When will the patronage of the Academy be so industriously directed and so well bestowed that . . . the trade in Art be less evident, and its loftier spirit more developed before the world?" And Turner, with so many others, he found dazzling but baffling:

> Here is a man who has a mania for painting atmospheres--who brings you before his canvass, and makes you sneeze with the dust of powdered rainbows--who thinks that, with coruscations of blue light and brimstone, he can make harmonies of sunbeams, and keep them floating in the air. It is pitiable to see art so deformed into madness. See those allegories--they are the painting fripperies of intellect in masquerade. And yet, glance at one or two efforts to represent the real, and see how much force of colour this artist can bring into sun and water; how he can rear temples in the gold that glitters from the sky,

> and make vessels sparkle with the ore on sail and prow as they career over the dancing wavelets. He is an inscrutable person that same erratic Mr. Turner.[13]

This review, for the exhibition of May 1843, was accompanied by a humorous illustration of the crowds packed into the exhibit room, with heads craned in various unnatural positions so that they might view the pictures occupying every available inch of space on the walls, but more frequently reviews of exhibitions were accompanied by a reproduction of a painting on exhibit, engraved in the journal's finest style. The Royal Academy Exhibition for 1849 was lavishly treated and illustrated in the ILN's first triple number. There were also, at intervals, large, exquisite engravings of paintings by old masters, such as Murillo's Holy Family, which was accompanied, as such presentations frequently were, by a poem celebrating the masterpiece. New prints and sculptures were regularly commented on, as was the erection of the two famous statues of the era--of Nelson, at Trafalgar Square, and M. C. Wyatt's much-criticized colossal statue of Wellington, which was featured in a full-page illustration on the journal's cover for October 3, 1846. Books on the fine arts were regularly reviewed, and often illustrated, in a column separate from the regular book reviews. And very special attention was accorded the art of wood engraving. As we have seen, in the spring of 1844 the journal presented its readers with William A. Chatto's Wood-Engraving: Its History and Practice, embellished by very elegant engravings by Linton.[14]

Considerable attention, too, was accorded the industrial arts, with notices and illustrations of exhibits of British manufactures at the Society of Arts, extensive coverage of the Birmingham Exposition of Arts

and Manufactures in 1849, of the Cork National Industrial Exhibition in 1852, and, of course, treatment of the Great Exhibition so comprehensive that the journal's supplements, printed in French and German as well as English, almost form a catalog to that event.[15] Gossip of the art world appeared occasionally, featured in an article like "A Gossip about the Art-Union Cartoons," but not nearly so frequently as similar articles on the literary and theatrical worlds. Yet the interests of the trade and of collectors were attended to by extensive treatment of art sales--illustrations of treasures to be auctioned at the sale of Walpole's Strawberry Hill appeared in the journal's second number, and illustrations of the sale at Stowe, occasioned by the Duke of Buckingham's bankruptcy, ran for five issues in 1849.[16] And in 1849 a new series, called "Curiosities," focused on unusual museum treasures and objects with historical associations. The series was initiated with a description and small illustration of the sword worn by Wolfe at Quebec, and the following explanation:

> We this day commence a series of Illustrations, under the above title, which, we are persuaded, will prove very attractive to our readers. The objects intended to be comprised in this series will be, in the main, of historic interest, such as the memorial engraved below. Others will be of artistic as well as historic interest, combining rare beauty of form and material with elaborate workmanship, so as to present very interesting specimens of the arts of design in a bygone age. We shall, in adding to this little gallery of rarities, be happy to receive from correspondents drawings of such articles as may adorn their cabinets, accompanied by well-authenticated historical particulars; subject to our estimate of their eligibility for representation.[17]

Finally, on another level altogether, an interesting series called "Art in the Byeways" late in 1851 called attention to the arts and crafts

of England's working people--profile cutting, wax dolls, chalk drawings on pavements, and other so-called street arts. In these essays we can see most clearly the middle-class bias of the ILN's taste and definition of art, and its disposition to make public taste conform to its own. The writer hoped that whatever was crude or grotesque "be combatted by surrounding the great bulk of the people with objects that educate and refine the eye." The mechanic "may as cheaply deposit his bunch of flowers in a fac-simile of the Portland vase as in an old pitcher; and the graceful hop-plant may as well encircle his jug of foaming ale, as the barbarous willow pattern."[18]

Sporting news had always comprised a major element of the Sunday press's attention to the amusements and pleasures of the people; indeed, for some, like Bell's Life, it was the staple feature. The ILN was by no means deficient in its attention to sports, but it was careful, always, to limit its coverage to respectable sports, and thereby distinguished itself from its contemporaries in the Sunday press. "With regard to Sporting," the editors reflected in mid-1845, "it will be seen that we have made honourable cause with those who seek to banish roguery and insincerity, and to elevate the turf."[19]

Like practically everything in Victorian England, sports were class ridden, with the exception of horse racing, which, though controlled by the governing classes, was followed by men of all stations, and on gala days, by women, too. Turf news, very respectably treated, was the major component of the ILN's sports interest. It dominated the column, "Sporting Intelligence," which had appeared since the journal's first number.

In 1843 the proprietors were "happy to announce that they have made arrangements with a distinguished sporting writer for the supply of an original article on sporting generally--on the turf especially--to appear weekly." Thereafter "National Sports" appeared with the regularity of a news column, and included a brief paragraph or two of spirited comment, gossip, and "inside information" on the sports and racing world, together with the results at Tattersall's, Steeple Chase, the Royal Stag Hounds, Holywell Hunt Races, and others, laid out in easy-to-read columns. The Derby, Ascot, St. Leger, and Goodwood were always accorded elaborate coverage, with large illustrations--frequently two-page spreads by Leech or Gilbert--of prerace picnics, scenes from the grand stand, comic views of the crowded thoroughfares of Epsom or Doncaster, and in 1847, three humorous character studies of first-, second-, and third-class railway passengers on their way to the races. And, invariably, there was a portrait of the winner by J. F. Herring.[20]

Of the other sports accorded attention, all were upper- and middle-class, with perhaps fox hunting, the favorite of the aristocracy, receiving the most regular treatment, together with other pleasures of the horsey set. In 1843 there was an illustrated series on "Sports of England" that highlighted such activities as stag hunting and hare hunting. There was even a feature entitled "Horsemen," offered for the edification of readers as well as their enjoyment, as it pointed out the differences between various kinds of riders--jockeys, huntsmen, military men, and so forth--and examined the reasons for these differences.[21] But other kinds of sports were covered, too. There were accounts of the Oxford and

Cambridge University boat races; of activities at the Royal Thames Yacht Club; of archery contests; and of the new interests in pedestrianism. In 1842 and 1846 there were illustrated series on angling, featuring a different fish each week, with a picture and a description of its traits. And in 1850 a number of articles on "Fishing Expeditions up the Thames" highlighted locales where fishing of various kinds was excellent.

Many of the lower-class forms of sport that had been popular in the eighteenth century--cock fighting, bull and bear baiting--had, by the advent of the ILN, been successfully suppressed through local hostility to gambling and the activities of the R.S.P.C.A. In the minds of most of England's middle classes, pugilism was associated with these so-called blood sports, and by the 1830s it had sunk so low in esteem that it was no longer carried in some of the sporting magazines. Yet prize fighting had continued to be a regular feature of Sunday press papers, and it was the particular specialty of the Weekly Dispatch.[22] The ILN, however, sought to be clearly in accord with increasing middle-class delicacy, and noticed this form of sport only once, and then with the same apologies and pious protests that accompanied its treatment of crime in its first year. The following editorial commented on an account of a fatal prize fight in September 1842:

> In another column will be found a paragraph account of a prize fight which took place on Monday at Salisbury, and which terminated in the death of one of the miserable combatants. We have condensed the narrative of the occurrence into as small a space as possible, because, in a paper so extensively taken by families as is the Illustrated News, we would not prolong the detail of any incident that might shock the feelings of our readers; but, on the other hand, we would not omit a record of the brutal exhibition, because

> its insertion involves also the public duty of protesting against the heartless, cruel, and degrading practice, upon which it affords so awful though melancholy a comment. And here let us premise that we are in favour of a warm encouragement of all the manly sports of the people. We would rejoice over the increase of sound athletic exercise, and the fair fosterage of gallantry and courage--we would nerve the body, and recreate and refresh the mind, by all means which come legitimately within the character of manhood; but not by one insane gratification or one debasing influence, would we tarnish the native purity of the English name.

Thereafter, except for one more editorial denouncing the practice, the ILN was silent on the subject of prize fighting.[23]

Even a brief survey of the features on drama, music, the arts, and sports, which, together with literature comprised the staples of the Sunday press's magazine interest up to the 1840s, reveals how thoroughly Ingram remade this standard fare to cater to the concerns, tastes, and activities of England's middle classes. But the ILN included a great deal more. There were, in addition, numerous features throughout the journal's first decade designed to appeal to the middle-class Victorian sense of humor and to please those whose interests were in travel, in agriculture, in history, topography, architecture, antiquarian lore, the latest fashions, gardening, or simply, as all people always are, in the passing seasons and the activities that attend them.

Throughout most of the 1840s there often appeared, in contrast to the paper's sober and dignified treatment of the week's news, a column of light-hearted personal reflections on the events of the week, recounted in a lively, even racy, style. It was variously called "Our Grave Discussion of Topics of the Day," "Rambles in the Realms of Chat," "A Lively

Comment on the News of the Week," "Our Commentaries for the Week, in Prose and Verse," "A Laughing Leader," "A Week's Gossip," "Gaities and Gravities of the Week," and "Gossip of the Week," perhaps the various titles signaling the various hands that might have contributed this entertaining feature. The tone was always exuberant and boisterous:

> Gossip galore! as they say in the land of Dan. Chat eternal! All the world agog after some excitement or other. The Maynooth Bill through the Lords! Winchilsea before the Queen, with a coal-porter burden of four hundred petitions! A bull-fight at Madrid! A race at Hampton! And no end of debate over the wrongs, the cannibalism, and the Company of New Zealand.

At times such exuberance verged on what later Victorians might think of as irreverence, as when a spoof on the inadequacy of the French navy led the author to picture, in verse form, how Louis Philippe might arrange for Queen Victoria to be transported from the Royal Yacht to the shores of France in a bathing machine. Parodies were frequently the form of humor selected to sport with the week's events; Peel's advice to Russell, for example, on the eve of the former's resignation, was "couched in the noble pathos of Shakspeare's Wolsey." Yet when there was no humor to be found in the week's news, the writer of this column could be very serious: "The Parliamentary talk goes on as per last. We cannot find it in our heart to joke about it. Matters are too critical. Starvation and fever in Ireland, partial stagnation of trade in England. Yet nothing can be done till the country members have said their say."[24]

In addition to this column reflecting humorously on the news, there was, at least once a month, a caricature, a mock-serious study,

or some article which was designed purely to amuse. In the journal's first few years, Alfred Crowquill contributed most of these. He had been hired specifically to supply the journal with jokes and humorous sketches, and his mock-advertisement from "Adonis Slim" appeared in the ILN's first number. It was followed in the second number by two "responses," one from a "young widow without encumbrance" and another from "a lady of medium age and anxious to settle." In the next issue there was a "Note on Noses," with sketches of various shapes and analyses of the character of their owners--roman and aquiline noses belonging to persons of superior intellect and high moral sentiment, snub noses to an "amiable class," hook noses to "sly, insinuating rogues." "A man with a large nose, if he does not always rise in the world, very seldom sinks into the lowest current of society," Crowquill quipped; "his nose keeps him always floating above." Throughout the first volume there are similar comic sketches--of character types observed in Regent Street, of "thimble rigs" at the races, of fat ladies compressed into London's omnibuses, of cabs and cabmen. In addition, as was noted in chapter 3, a great many of the cases that came before London's police courts were reported as entertainment rather than news and were accompanied by Crowquill's visual puns and comic sketches of stereotypes--brawling drunks and conniving Jewish merchants, for example. To the ILN's second volume Crowquill contributed a column called simply "Alfred Crowquill's Sketches," where again character types were portrayed--sharpers, cabmen, and dandies. Then, at the height of England's craze in railway speculation, toward the end of 1845, Crowquill contributed a series entitled

"Railway Mania," in which various types of speculators and shareholders were delineated. In addition, he always supplied comic poems and illustrations for the Christmas holidays and other special days throughout the year, like Valentine's Day.[25]

Humorous sketches of character types were a popular form of humor among Victorian readers and appeared in the ILN again in the late 1840s. This time the contribution of Kenny Meadows, gossiping maids, tavern sots, busy clerks, and fruit women were held up for a gentler kind of ridicule, as were various characters observed on a train ride, on election day, and during the railway panic. But in conjunction with Thomas Miller, in a series entitled "Characters about Town," such sketches took on the more sober import of social commentary. "The Dram Drinker" depicted a child barely big enough to reach up to the gin-bar. Miller noted, sadly, that even little ones had found "that gin numbs and destroys for a time the gnawing pangs of hunger," and named better food, better wages, and increased employment as remedies.[26]

Of a somewhat different nature were the comic columns provided by Albert Smith. Smith's association with the ILN began with his series "Tracts for the Trains," which first appeared in March 1846 and continued throughout the year. The title, itself a parody of the Oxford Movement, was an umbrella for a miscellany of jokes, riddles, parodies, and comic sketches and poems. There were, of course, aspects of railway speculation and rail travel that in particular were satirized, but the title was really used to provide a continuity not inherent in the material. For example, the conundrum, "What was Joan of Art made of? 'Maid' of Orleans," was included simply because it was "picked up" on the train.[27]

In the concluding number of "Tracts for the Trains," Smith announced that he had been invited by the proprietors of the ILN to take "Everybody's Column," previously a miscellany of anonymous poems, excerpts from the classics and current literature, and useful information, under his management. Unlike the column in Trafalgar Square, he announced, "Everybody's Column"

> will take only a week to build; there will, therefore, be a chance for everybody of average life to see its commencement and completion. We shall still illustrate our paragraphs here and there with those elaborate artistic sketches which we have been permitted to introduce; but amidst our weekly winter whims and fire-side fancies, we shall from time to time throw in such graver paragraphs as we may think worth transplanting from other quarters. And be assured that, although our fun may be occasionally personal, it shall be such that the objects of it may themselves smile at. At all events, they shall not be vexed.

From here on "Everybody's Column" was a melange of fun and humor, with jokes, riddles, conundrums, puzzles, pictograms, parodies, and small sketches and silhouettes called "blackies." As Smith promised, the jokes were ever in the spirit of play rather than of satire, and even the ILN itself was gently spoofed without objection. One column concluded with a small sketch of a crowd pushing to gain entrance to a building and the explanation:

> By our new arrangements for bringing out The Illustrated News, which combine the application of Mr. Little's Improved No-end-of-impression-in-a minute Steam Press, with the electric telegraph, we shall shortly be enabled to anticipate every event of importance. At present, we give a view of the spectacle our office will present on Monday, as soon as this number has been seen, and its attractions made known and appreciated. The crowd also includes many ingenious correspondents bringing their answers to the above riddles.[28]

Though very clever, Smith's "Everybody's Column" was irregular, and ceased altogether in mid-1848 when Smith was sent to Paris to report on

conditions in that beleagured city for the ILN. At the end of the year, however, Smith did contribute to the ILN's special Christmas number several parodies in his best style, including one of Tennyson. Entitled "Mariana at Ramsgate, it pictured Mariana's disgust, after leaving the moated grange, with the slow-moving social life, and the refrain went thus:

> She only said, "I'm very weary.
> Day after day the same;"
> She said, "This Ramsgate is so dreary,
> I'm sorry that I came."[29]

But the need for a regular humor column must have persisted, and in 1850 Smith introduced, along lines similar to his "Everybody's Column," his "Composite Column," "with a truthful expression of the pleasure we feel at renewing regularly those relations with the readers of the Illustrated London News." Cast as "selections" from the notebook of "one dependent upon general observation for his existence," the column took anecdotes, "odd nooks and corners of society," and "harmless absurdities" as its subjects; fun at the expense of personalities was to be avoided. Though unfortunately again short-lived, the column appeared frequently enough to find amusement in ladies' fashions, theater going, the oddities of foreign travel, and the nicknacks that decorated Victorian interiors.[30]

Finally, the comic contributions of Cuthbert Bede, beginning in 1851 and continuing through 1852, were of yet another genre. "The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green, An Oxford Freshman" traced the activities of a shy young man preparing to go off to university and adjusting to life at Oxford. In the flurry of packing his trunks, saying farewell

to his family, purchasing his cap and gown and taking rooms at Oxford, and attending chapel, the routines of the middle classes and the customs of university life were sympathetically delineated. Bede found a gentle, almost sad humor in the innocence and naiveté of young Verdant Green's perspective, and makes us smile in self-recognition at the awkward moments of gentle affection between families and the painful consciousness of one who wants to belong, and doesn't.[31]

It is interesting to note, especially in view of the journal's close connections with Punch, that so little of the ILN's humor has any social content. Rather, most of the humorous articles involve simple caricatures, parodies, jokes, and riddles. There is, however, an increasing refinement apparent in the journal's humorous materials. Over the course of its first decade the caricatures grew less stereotypic and the ridiculing less personal in nature. Crowquill laughed at noses, fat ladies, and Jews; Smith stuck to literature, ladies' fashions, and nicknacks; and even Smith's parodies seem crude when held alongside the subtle humor Bede extracted from the experience of an innocent college freshman.

In addition to those articles in the ILN designed purely to amuse, there were a great many items designed to instruct as well as amuse, and for these Ingram put his paper's capacity for illustration to good use. Vizetelly claims to have suggested to Ingram that portraits of eminent figures would be most suitable for an illustrated newspaper, especially as the recent development of the daguerreotype made them easy to procure. Within a few weeks of the founding of the ILN a series entitled "Popular

Portraits" was introduced. Although well-known literary men were sometimes featured--Charles Dickens was the subject in the spring of 1843, for example--the series focused almost exclusively on members of Parliament, and in 1844 the title was altered, accordingly, to "Parliamentary Portraits." The selection of members as subjects was nonpartisan--often figures prominent in recent debates were chosen. The accompanying text was usually brief and largely biographical, again nonpartisan, with the expression of opinion generally limited to the member's speaking ability. A new series of "Parliamentary Portraits" began with the national elections in 1846, and the column appeared regularly, though not weekly, throughout the paper's first decade. A related feature was "Portraits of the Sovereigns and Princes of Europe," which was offered in the early months of 1844. Portraits for this series were "drawn on wood by the distinguished Belgian artist, M. Baugniet, who has been honoured with sittings by nearly all the crowned heads of the Continent. The likenesses by this artist are admitted to possess remarkable fidelity."[32]

"Nooks and Corners of Old England" appeared almost every week during the journal's first decade. A quaint church, a historic house, a national landmark, or a public building of particular interest was generally the featured subject. A small, single-column illustration was provided, and a brief description, together with some quotations from illustrious figures who were associated with it. Nelson was quoted when his birthplace at Burnham Thorpe was selected, for example, and Milton, of course, for his house in Westminster. This column, with its special antiquarian interest, was just the kind of thing that was Peter Cunningham's

forte, and I suspect it was his contribution. His Hand-Book of London appeared in 1849, and afterwards was occasionally quoted in the brief text that accompanied the picture.[33] A similar series, which appeared regularly from 1842 to 1847, was "Churches of the Metropolis." A different London church was featured every week, with a small drawing, generally of the façade, and a brief architectural description. Comments on historical associations were included only rarely.

For the ladies there was, predictably, a fashion column. "Fashions," with an illustration of a dress and a bonnet, and a chatty letter from a female Paris correspondent, first "Julie," then "Henriette de B.," appeared every week throughout the journal's first year. At the end of 1843, however, the proprietors announced that, "at the suggestion of several fair readers," the column would henceforth appear once a month, but "the engraving will be of larger size, and altogether of better execution."[34] One wonders what really was behind this alteration; more than likely it was less a response to readers' suggestions than to some decision made within the office. At any rate, the so-called Paris correspondent wrote no more, and the monthly pictures of dresses and descriptions of bonnets were copies, with acknowledgment, from Townsend's Selections of Paris Costumes, Berger's Ladies Gazette of Fashion, the London and Paris Ladies' Magazine of Fashion, Les Modes Parisiannes, or Le Journal des Modes Parisäennes.

Speaking to a similar interest was "Our Domestic Column," which had a short-lived career in 1847. Like the former "Everybody's Column," now under the direction of Albert Smith, "Our Domestic Column" included

anonymous poems and extracts from classic and current literature. The focus, however, was on the domestic interest, and in addition to extracts from The English Matron, Mrs. Loudon's Amateur Gardener's Calendar, and comments on periodicals like The Work-Table Magazine, numerous household hints and remedies were offered. There were also occasional scraps of information on gardening, which spoke directly to this interest for the first time since 1842, when "Floriculture" had featured a different flower each week. Whether reader response was unfavorable, or arrangements for putting together the column fell through, we don't know, but "Our Domestic Column" was discontinued after 1847 and not replaced. Considering the breadth of appeal the ILN sought to achieve, and its particular interest in serving the family circle, it is surprising that it did not offer more features addressed to the so-called feminine interest. Perhaps women's matters were not considered serious enough to be accorded much space in a paper that also conceived of its role as recording the life of the times, and defined that life largely in terms of public events and public amusements. Then, too, women were not yet the chief buyers of England's shop goods; later in the century, when women as a class became an important market, ladies' magazines could rely on heavy advertising and began to flourish.

The ILN's weekly chess column, as already noted, was the world's first. Under Staunton's management it included a diagram of a chess board with a particular problem laid out, the solution to last week's problem, and accounts of matches and games, including one played by telegraph between London and Portsmouth. Staunton used his column in

the ILN to generate interest in the game, and also, unfortunately, to vent his personal antagonisms, and his answers to questions sent in by correspondents bristle with sarcasm and impatience.[35]

Mid-Victorian readers must have been extremely fond of travel literature if one can judge by the number of travel books produced during the period, and the ILN catered to this interest in a number of ways. In addition to "Nooks and Corners of Old England," and "Churches of the Metropolis," both of which included guidebook details in addition to their antiquarian and architectural interests, there was the series "Watering Places of England," introduced at the suggestion of Birket Foster and Edmund Evans and appearing with some regularity from 1849 through 1852. While the Great Exhibition was going on in Hyde Park, "A Few Days in the Like District" was serialized, and two other travelogues were offered: "A Ramble in Hertfordshire" and "Dottings on the Danube," which was signed "S.B." and may well have been from Shirley Brooks, who was during this period traveling in southeastern Europe to report on the agricultural classes for the Morning Chronicle. "Out of Town" offered humorous accounts of trips to Mayfair and Brighton in 1845 that showed more interest in chatter than in descriptions of the environs, but in the fall of 1847 "Flying Sheets from Our Travelling Contributor" gave detailed impressions of Brussels, Mayence (Mainz), Constance, and finally Munich, with a long account of that city and its October Festival. Angus B. Reach's "The Railway Note-Book," a series appearing in the spring of 1852, offered observations on railway stations, railway literature, and the character types one might encounter on a train.[36]

But perhaps the most interesting of these features describing travel or various locales was "Picturesque Sketches of London, Past and Present," contributed at irregular intervals from 1848 through 1851 by Thomas Miller. Here quaint old buildings, public monuments, and fashionable neighborhoods selected for comment in other articles were bypassed for London's poorer districts and commercial quarters, and small sketches were combined with sympathetic description, historical reflection, and social commentary that was often directly related to social and political issues treated concurrently in leading articles and editorials. "Wealth cannot wholly seclude itself," noted Miller in his treatment of St. Giles's, for the smells of that neighborhood's dwellings and subterranean rooms seeped into the wealthy neighborhoods nearby. But, like the ILN's editors, he was skeptical of the real benefits of "improvements." "Our modern improvers have commenced by rooting out the inhabitants; may we not expect a new St. Giles's to rise up in some other corner of this vast metropolis?" In another number Miller reflected on "Holidays for the Poor" in a manner very much in tune with the ILN's advocacy of public parks. "Food and raiment, household shelter, and a grave, are all the Poor-Law allows to the pauper," and yet all beings need recreation, he commented. What delight and wonder, then, to the urban poor was Joseph Brown's Bethnal-Green: "At his bidding the little doubled-up old woman left off roasting chest-nuts at the corner of the street, and went out to see them grow. The pale-faced girl for one day ceased her cry of water-cresses, and saw the clear brook in which they stood."[37]

For those interested in science, there were, of course, the annual illustrated accounts of the gatherings of the British Archaeological

Institute, and the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and a host of other scientific societies. In addition, a column entitled "Scientific Progress" or "Popular Science," explained, sometimes with the aid of illustrations, recent discoveries and inventions--in 1847, for example, ether, the telegraph, and the hydraulic pump. In recent years the ILN has been noted for its painstaking treatment of archaeology, a subject in which Bruce Ingram was particularly interested. But even in its early days the journal reported the excavations at Pompeii and carefully illustrated Roman pottery found at Lincoln, mosaics discovered at Cirencester and Walbrook, other Roman artifacts at Chesterfield and Headington. The arrival of the Nimroud sculptures at the British Museum was lavishly treated.[38]

Interest in rural, agricultural Britain was served by the weekly commodity prices, the accounts of the meetings of the Royal Agricultural Society, and the descriptions and generous illustrations of the Smithfield Cattle Exhibition every December, together with portraits of the prize winners. Alfred Smee, F.R.S., author of The Potato Plant: Its Use and Properties, reported throughout 1847 and 1848 on the potato blight that was ruining harvests throughout Europe. And there were several illustrated series on British agriculture in general. Edward Duncan depicted agricultural occupations in a series variously called "Agricultural Pictures" and "Agricultural Scenes" that appeared with the changing seasons in 1846, and in 1850 Thomas Rowlandson began a series entitled "British Agriculture" that continued for several years. Noting "the general utility and interest of the topic," the proprietors of the ILN

proposed these papers, which would treat in particular the advantages and defects of various methods of fertilizing the soil. The journal's capacity for illustration made it possible to give the reader "a better conception of the idea to be conveyed than pages of written description."

> In pursuing this course we shall be rendering a greater service to the agricultural community, than that adopted by the various "commissioners" sent out by our daily contemporaries, whose reports have hitherto been little more interesting than as ordinary topographical descriptions of the country they passed through, being devoid of anything suggestive of improvement, or calculated to assist the farmer in surmounting the present difficulty of low prices.[39]

There were, in addition, a number of other illustrated features that ought to be mentioned briefly. "Anniversaries," which noted the births and deaths of important historical figures and the anniversaries of significant events in the past, was offered in 1843 and 1844 as "another fair occasional source of gratification, while it will serve to awaken wholesome recollections of history." In 1846 and 1847 Angus B. Reach contributed a series on "The Police Offices of London," which included descriptions of various magistrates, the routines of business, and the crowds of people attending the hearings. At about the same time "Foreign Corn Ports" was of interest on account of "the continued scarcity of grain in Europe." One series is particularly intriguing not only in its topic but in the fact that it was stillborn. On February 1, 1845, the proprietors published the prospectus for "Pictures of the Working People, at Their Labour and in Their Homes."

> The Proprietors of this Journal, in announcing a project so important as that which is indicated in the title of the work above set forth, are anxious to enlist the good-will and interest of all their readers in its favour, because they believe

> that, with the assistance of public attention to its details and disclosures;--to its construction and carrying out;--influences of the highest social value may be engendered, a large amount of the best sort of instruction diffused over the community, and benefits extended both to the employing and employed classes, consequent upon the fact of the former having a better knowledge of the latter, and upon the creation of strong and lasting sympathies between them both.

Asserting that the style of illustration would be "real," and that the series would include anecdotes and details of the social and domestic episodes "of humble life," the proprietors requested "voluntary communications" from all classes and districts of England. The next week they acknowledged receiving "a great number" of communications, but that, unfortunately, is the last that is heard of the project. The purposes of this series seem very much in line with the editorial commitment to bring the middle and upper classes to a sympathetic awareness of the problems of the poor. One wonders, then, if the series was dropped because the editors realized, on second thought, that the illustrations, though well-intended, might be shocking, and the series might introduce into the ILN too many scenes of social misery, the graphic depiction of which would be as disturbing to its readers, as likely to bring that blush to the cheek, as illustrations of crime.[40]

Finally, one of the most popular columns of the ILN's amusement interest was not dependent upon illustrations for its special appeal. This was the familiar "To Correspondents" column, which appeared regularly on the page with the editorials, "Calendar for the Week," and charts on high tides at London Bridge. Here were answered the multifarious questions that Victorian readers were in the habit of putting to the editors of newspapers.

> Few would believe, but those who have had actual experience, the immense number of letters, upon all subjects, that are daily poured into the Editor's box of a London daily or weekly journal. No question is too absurd for Newspaper Correspondents to ask, and no trouble they can give seems unreasonable in their eyes. They expect an editor to be skilful in the law, and to expound the most complicated questions of legal difficulty; to be learned in medicine and divinity; to know all languages, ancient and modern, and all dialects, from the Cherokee to the Kamschatkadale; to know the most intimate secrets of all trades and professions; to be as expert in mathematics as Euclid, in mechanics as Archimedes, in astrology as Nostradamus, in astronomy as Laplace or Herschel, in chemistry as Faraday; and to discover a meaning in the pages of a German metaphysician. They expect him to have a memory capacious enough to remember every event, great or small, that is recorded in history, or that has happened since the invention of printing; to know how many panes of glass there are in every street in the metropolis; how many mandarins with tails have appeared in China since Confucius; when every great criminal was hung, what he said in his last dying speech and confession, and who bought as relics the pieces of rope that strangled him; when every prize-fight came off, and who was the conqueror; the precise age to a day of every actress that either is or ever was upon the stage--what piece a popular actor performed every night since, and the amount of his salary; the precise words a minister may have said twenty years ago in the passing of a private bill; the number of bricks in the Tower of Babel; the specific gravity of the dirt and putridity in the river Thames at high water, and how many fish, from white-bait to eels are annually caught between Greenwich and Twickenham.

Some of the ILN's correspondents corrected misinformation that had been printed in previous issues; others were thanked here for the drawings, poems, and articles they had submitted. But, with the exception of requests for information on crimes and prize fights, the majority of the ILN's correspondents asked exactly the sort of questions noted above, with many requests, in particular, for information on old coins and coats of arms. Such requests were no doubt annoying to editors; at one point they complained, "All our friends would oblige by writing us as briefly

and clearly as possible; to read through a long and ill-written communication takes up too much of our time." Yet the column also served as a kind of self-advertisement for the journal; and one suspects that such responses as "The work was noticed in our last Number," and "The promised engraving of Chatsworth Conservatory will appear shortly" were to questions designed by the editorial staff rather than submitted by readers. Correspondents columns appeared in many papers and were a specialty of journals devoted largely to tales and fiction, such as the Family Herald and London Journal, where they pertained more to matters of love, courtship, and marriage than in the ILN. They were enormously popular with Victorian readers, perhaps because, as Richard Altick suggests, they made journals into "confidantes and counselors," a kind of "companion in millions of crowd-lonely lives."[41]

The ILN's magazine interest encompassed a good deal more, but, with the exception of literature, which shall be dealt with shortly, the preceding pages provide, I think, a fair sampling of the many kinds of articles the journal offered its readers each week of its first decade. These articles were, most of them, built around illustrations, illustrations that were designed not to excite (or incite), but to instruct and amuse, and to elevate public taste. If the ILN's magazine interest attracted with its illustrations, it taught at the same time, and the journal's articles were clearly cast to make this point. The sketches of "Watering Places of England" might help guide the steps of those who sought health and recreation, the illustrated feature on "Horsemen"

explained the differences between various types of riders; the pictorial representations in "Anniversaries" awakened wholesome recollections of history; Rowlandson's "British Agriculture" taught methods of fertilizing the soil more effectively that a written report; the engraving of "Thisbe Listening at the Wall" proved the discriminating taste disseminated by the art unions; and on and on. Ingram succeeded, in other words, in taking the excitement generated by illustrations that the Weekly Chronicle had exploited, and turning it to the purposes of the Penny Magazine, then leavened the whole with fiction and the frank acknowledgment that amusement and entertainment were in themselves wholesome and a necessary component of a healthy life.

It is likely that from the very beginning the journal's magazine interest was equally as engaging to readers as its reporting of the news, and, over the years, where the journal was expansive and innovative, it was in this area, despite the fact that its entertaining features were always considered of secondary importance and liable to be postponed when the press of news was great. As the journal became increasingly prosperous, however, these entertaining features were frequently offered in supplements and extra numbers, and in 1852 the ILN commenced a series of monthly supplements to be devoted to literature, music, the fine arts, drama, and science. Although the editors still asserted the primacy of the news, the establishment of these supplements, which guaranteed these departments regular space and their subjects regular coverage, involved recognition of the importance of these features, and of leisure activities, to middle-class readers. And, although the ILN's ability to

secure and print news illustrations increased dramatically over the course of its first decade, and in the decades following the journal continued in the forefront of developments on these lines, the magazine interest gradually expanded until by the end of the nineteenth century it had displaced the news for the position of prominence. The newspaper had become a news magazine. It is true that daily illustrated papers now regularly anticipated the ILN's coverage of current events, and in the next century radio and television would do so more dramatically, but the expansion of the journal's magazine interest was by no means simply a response to the shrinking appeal and significance of its news reporting. It was initiated also to meet the widening leisure interests of England's ever-increasing, and increasingly leisured, middle classes, and it must be seen as part of the gradual expansion of scope of the Sunday press that transformed this medium from the weekly summary of news of the late eighteenth century to the generally current news miscellany of our own day. In this transformation, the ILN, with its illustrations designed to instruct and amuse, played a significant role.[42]

Having surveyed the wide variety of features in the Illustrated London News, I want now, in the concluding section of this concluding chapter, to look closely at a very important component of its magazine interest--its attention to literature. The journal's literary features can serve as a kind of sample of the nature and quality of its magazine interest as a whole; and an examination of them provides, in a way, a fitting conclusion to this study, for here much of what has gone before

will be reconfirmed. Here we will see once again the journal's commitment to the decent and respectable in Victorian life; its rejoicing at the practicality of the age; its attention to the Queen and public ceremonies; its penchant for instructing and elevating; its preference for breadth of coverage over depth of analysis; and its studied avoidance of the controversial. And we will see, too, its celebration of domestic virtues, which, coupled with its constant vigilance to exclude the offensive, formed the basis of the journal's appeal to the family circle and justified its claims as a family paper.

Although reviews of recent literature constituted the backbone of the ILN's literary interest, the journal's editors also gave occasional attention to the nation's literary activities in general and published original poetry, short tales, and works of fiction as well. The ILN's editors had always maintained an interest in national literary activities and the status of literature and the literary trade among the people of Britain. In 1842 they had supported the Author's Copyright bill, claiming that "the literature of England is surely, for its civilising influences, as much entitled to protection as its trade." The next year they applauded Lord Campbell's proposal for revision of the libel law, which would remove the burden of proof in such cases from newspapers and editors.[43] In 1844, as we have seen, the ILN showed extraordinary interest in the Burns Festival at Ayr. Ingram himself attended, in company with Douglas Jerrold, and he engaged Landells and other artists to make detailed drawings and Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall to provide a long, elaborate account of the event. In 1847 the ILN actively supported a national

subscription to purchase Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford-on-Avon, then offered for sale, and presented its readers with a special Shakespeare number to mark the occasion.[44] The journal always noted the passing of eminent literary figures--the death of Thomas Campbell, for example, was lamented in a leading article, of the Countess of Blessington with a large, lovely portrait.[45] In 1850 there began to appear a chatty, informal column of gossip from London's literary scene, and from the artistic and theatrical communities, too, that would be a staple feature for decades to come. This was "Town Talk and Table Talk," or so it was called in these years when written by Angus B. Reach. Reach was shortly succeeded by Peter Cunningham, who, as we have seen, made this column a singular attraction of the journal and established a legacy that was admirably followed by Shirley Brooks, G. A. Sala, James Payne, L. F. Austin, G. K. Chesterton, and, finally, Arthur Bryant. Reach provided, in his time, a pleasant essay of chatter and anecdote about London's leading literary lights, together with reflections on such matters as copyright, the laureateship, periodicals "of the hearth and home class" and travel literature.[46]

About the same time, and coincident with the increasing influence on the journal of Mackay, who was as interested in literature as he was in politics, leading articles and editorials began to speak more regularly on topics of particular interest to the literary community. In addition to the numerous essays marshaling opinion, from several points of view, against the taxes on knowledge and specifically against the paper duty, there were a number of articles showing concern, again, for stronger

copyright protection, for government pensions for literary men, and the establishment of a kind of guild of writers and artists that would help provide for their fellows "in the decline of their life or their powers." All these essays made large claims for the pre-eminent position of literature in English civilization:

> Upon the general question of the claims of literature and literary men to the respect and honour of a civilised people, there can be no doubt. Literature is a mighty teacher; and in our day the general diffusion of a knowledge of reading and writing among the masses of our population extends its influence into sub-strata of society where formerly its light never penetrated. The literary man is, more than ever, the priest and teacher of the people.

The commercial nature of literature, however necessary, was condemned as responsible for the degrading nature of some publications.

> As long as literature remains a mere thing of the shop--a purely commercial speculation, in which author and bookseller engage for the sake of profit, so long will there be a class of writers who will have it in their power to inflict injury upon the community by pandering to its vices, its prejudices, and its ignorance. . . . Any one who examines into the present state of the cheap literary market, will be appalled at the unblushing effrontery, the shameless pruriency and open vice which are exhibited in publications that appeal for support to the ignorant many.

These same arguments were used by the editors elsewhere to call for an end to the taxes on knowledge. Here it is interesting to see that they were also part of a campaign against the long-established agreements between publishers and booksellers that kept the prices of books artificially high and prevented "free trade," at this period the ILN's beau ideal, in literature.[47]

With such great claims for literature, one would expect the poetry and fiction published in the ILN to be important. Yet, despite these

claims, neither was taken very seriously by the journal. The poetry was both omnipresent and undistinguished. Much was printed anonymously; some poems were written by regular staff members and others were submitted by correspondents. In the early 1840s this verse was often gathered for presentation in a regular column entitled "Original Poetry." The poems can be divided into several types. There were, first of all, sentimental lyrics that almost always treated some aspect of romantic love and were usually sad, often laments for the loss, or death, of the loved one. A few titles from 1842 suggest their nature--"Dreams of the Past," "Twilight Falls," and "That Is the Road She Went."[48] Such poems, in simple ballad stanzas, were often set to music. They were the specialties of F. W. N. Bayley and J. Augustine Wade, and were frequent in the journal's first few years, when these men were on the staff or regular contributors. The poems written by Charles Mackay, which appeared in great numbers after 1848, were, in contrast, almost never sentimental laments, although poems by Mrs. T. K. Hervey continued, in these years, the traditions of Bayley and Wade. Mackay's poems were far less commonplace, but not, at the same time, really original. In verse forms more complex than those attempted by Bayley or Wade, Mackay, for example, selected a series of images to suggest the wide-ranging good effects of our random charitable deeds, and, as a lesser Wordsworth, celebrated the consolation of nature and the joys of the commonplace.[49]

These poems were offered to readers on their own merits. Most of the ILN's poems, however, were meant to serve other purposes. Mackay contributed a number of verses on social and political questions of the

day; his "The Early Closing Movement: The Young Men's Petition to Their Employers" and "The Dying Mother: A Plea for Extramural Interments" have already been noted; and in the summer of 1848 he contributed "Insurgent Prisoners in Paris Receiving Relief from Their Families."[50] Mackay was the only one to write poems on social topics, however, and more typical of the ILN's poetry were the many occasional poems, often composed by the staff's regulars to accompany illustrations of public ceremonies and royal visits and, like these illustrations, to celebrate, in another form, progress and patriotism. Wade's "The Ceremony of Laying the First Stone of the Birkenhead Docks" was one such poem; another was "Sweet Shores of the Solent," "composed expressly for the Illustrated London News, in celebration of her Majesty's sojourn during the summer of 1846, in the Neighbourhood of the delightful coast scenery to which the poetry refers." Miles Gerald Keon rejoiced at the subsidence of cholera with a poem unhappily titled, "The Plague Comes, and the Plague Goes."[51] Of a less sober nature were poems celebrating anniversaries and, invariably, with the passing of each month, the change of the seasons. In 1844 Wade composed a sonnet for each month, and two years later a similar series, signed "L."--perhaps Lewis Filmore, who during this period was associated with the journal--was offered as an accompaniment to Kenny Meadows's designs for "Heads of the Months." Charles Mackay wrote several poems that were intended to complement the paintings selected for reproduction in the "Fine Arts" column.[52]

Meadows's "Heads of the Months," St. Valentine's Day pictures with appropriate verses, and Mackay's poems to supplement the "Fine Arts"

column suggest that the ILN's poetry was, by and large, composed to accompany illustrations rather than the other way around. And Edmund Yates's memories of his earliest association with the journal confirm the secondary place assigned to poetry, however much of it there was. Albert Smith had put in a good word for him at the ILN office, and Mackay and Timbs had promised

> to do something for me whenever they had opportunity. That opportunity came about a month later when I received a proof of two wood-blocks--one a snow-balling scene in a school playgound, the other a representation of an old mistletoe-seller surrounded by an ordinary street group--with instructions to "do the best I could with them," and to let my descriptions be in verse.[53]

For all its claims, then, about the prominence of literature, the ILN did little to cultivate poetry or poets or to provide the kind of atmosphere in which original poetry and innovative poets could flourish. Elsewhere, in a review of a collection of poems by Andrew Alexander Knox, the ILN's literary critic complained, "Although almost everybody now scribbles verses of some kind or other, there probably never was an age which gave less promise than the present of a rich harvest of poetry."[54] Although the reviewer did not say so, the ILN surely had a part in that lack of promise. With its emphasis on the accomplishments of the age, its commemoration of the openings of new railway lines and stations, the ILN, for all its pretenses to art, was in the mainstream of the era's pervasive materialism and practicality. It did, of course, promote a new genre of artists. But these news illustrators, who sketched events with the delicate tastes of their readers and the capabilities of their wood engravers ever in mind, were artists whose talents were put

to serve other purposes as surely as were the journal's poets, who turned their verses to illustrating a picture of a snowball fight or the opening of a new dock. The pages of the ILN were available only to poems that accompanied a picture, celebrated an event, analyzed a social problem, or treated very commonplace sentiments in very conventional ways.

Like its poetry, the fiction published in the ILN was not taken very seriously by the journal, which is too bad, as most of it is interesting, and some is of decided merit. The inclusion of fiction in newspapers was relatively new. In 1836 the French newspaper La Siècle first published a roman feuilleton, or a novel written specifically for serialization in a newspaper and containing an abundance of sensational detail and suspense, particularly at the close of each installment. French fiction of this nature, in translation, and English fiction modeled upon it, became the staple of the cheap fiction journals of the next decade--the London Journal, the Family Herald, Reynolds's Miscellany, and the various publications of Edward Lloyd. Popular fiction of a similar cast was inaugurated in the Sunday papers with the appearance of Harrison Ainsworth's Old Saint Paul's in the Sunday Times in 1841.[55] The ILN's first work of fiction appeared in its second number--"The Grave of Genius," a melancholy tale by J. Oatt La Mont of a genius dying young, poor, and unrecognized.[56] Then, in October, came the announcement that a work of fiction, "upon an entirely new plan," would be serialized in the journal, "with every variety of illustration, executed in the most expensive style of finish, by Artists of the Highest Repute in their several walks of art." The novel turned out to be, not The Novel of the

Moment, as announced, but England and France, by the popular comic novelist Henry Cockton, presented in installments from March through December 1843, and accompanied by Kenny Meadows's sketches. Thereafter the serialization of a novel or short novella, always illustrated, was a regular feature of the ILN.[57]

England and France was a tale of love and marriage built around comic contrasts--the sister who marries for money and the sister who marries for love. It had little resemblance to the sort of fiction published in French newspapers and imitated in England by Ainsworth and Reynolds, which dealt in violent crime, bloodshed, murder, revenge, and illicit love. Sensationalism was the particular hallmark of Reynolds, who described torture and debauchery with gusto, pain and cruelty without compassion.[58] Such fiction, as might be expected in a journal that reported criminal news with delicacy, was excluded from the ILN. It was the sort of fiction the editors had in mind when they condemned "the unblushing effrontery, the shameless pruriency and open vice which are exhibited in publications that appeal for support to the many." Elsewhere an ILN reviewer decried cheap sensational fiction and so-called fashionable, or "silver-fork," novels, which had had their heyday in the 1830s but were still popular in the following decade.

> Your first-class novel is now a companion for Newgate, and the fitting hand-book of Goods and Greenacres. It is generally occupied with the doings of swindlers, thieves, and cutthroats, than whom the author can scarcely be a more respectable person, and among whom he has doubtless studied and taken his degree. Or it is taken up with the frauds and follies of a fashionable life, and the flutterings of the insect tribe who pay their devotions to the fickle goddess who has her shrine at Almack's, and presides over the purlieus at

> St. James's. Or, if to be assigned to neither of these classes, it is a bundle of maudlin sentiment and unnatural cant, pandering to the depraved taste of a reading public glutted with monstrosities, yet eager after excitement, with characters such as never existed in nature, or anywhere except in the diseased brain of the writer--the impure goblet of Circe, in short, without the sugared charms which made the rank draught palateable. We confess our aversion to drink at such streams, and infinitely prefer resigning ourselves to an hour or two of quiet enjoyment.[59]

Unlike its Sunday press contemporaries, the ILN abjured novels of the sensational cast, though a few of its tales, notably Fitz-Stephen and Otello, did involve murders and ancient curses, and in Thomas Miller's Mabel Marchmont there is an old hag living in a moldering mansion. Nor did the journal publish fashionable novels, or adventure tales like those by Captain Marryat, or historical romances like those by Scott and his imitators.[60] Rather the ILN's novels and tales are, almost all of them, stories of middle-class domestic life. Occasionally they contain social commentary. Augustus Mayhew, in A Story of the Present Day, took not middle- but working-class life as his subject, and sympathetically delineated the hardships of the Spitalfields weavers and their proud determination not to enter the workhouse. Elsewhere authors turned briefly from their narratives to condemn the silent system in prisons, for example, or to decry the lot of seamstresses. Two tales, one a translation and abridgment of a novel by M. Reybaud, treated France during revolution, both from an antirepublican point of view. But the overwhelming majority are like England and France--neither sensational nor social nor political in content but grounded in everyday domestic life, in problems of love and money, and usually both.[61]

The plot complications generally center around romantic love and its impediments, almost always money and social class, and are often resolved by sudden inheritances or revelations of kinship or true identity, for a good number of the heroes and heroines are, predictably, orphans. In the end the squanderers, the insincere, and the selfish--in the domestic sphere one can't really say "the wicked"--get what they deserve or are converted and forgiven. The hero and heroine--usually young, good looking, kind and pure--turn out to be in the right social class after all (or are so good that it doesn't matter), inherit the fortune (through all kinds of improbable circumstances and often on account of their recognized goodness), and marry. Family love--of parents, siblings, spouses, and children--is highly cherished and rewarded. The mode of telling is generally comic and sentimental, occasionally melodramatic. The skill of the authors is uneven, and character development and plot resolutions are frequently awkward and implausible.

These novels may seem trite and predictable, but it should be apparent, too, that in rejecting sensationalism, fashionable high life, faraway adventures, and even historical romance, they reflected more closely than the escapist fiction of the era the genuine concerns of their middle-class readers. Centered as it was in middle-class domestic life, the ILN's fiction can almost be thought of as a confirmation of the journal's commitment to the middle class, of its recognition of the importance of middle-class concerns, interests, habits, and routines. In a kind of preface to what is perhaps the best novel published by the ILN in its first decade, Gold; or, The Half-Brothers, the author Camilla

Toulmin states just this commitment. It is her intention to portray "Life as it is in the Middle Station," to appeal "to that Class which, of all others, should be the most proud of its 'order.' Since in this emotional, eventful, Transition Century, it comprises, or has supplied with scarcely an exception, the genius, the intelligence, the industry--in a word, the Mind of the Country."[62]

Such intentions make it eminently fitting that her novel should have been published in the Illustrated London News, but, unfortunately, there is no evidence that the editors of the journal recognized that fiction might affirm, in a serious way, the values that the journal stood for. The ILN's novels were clearly in the mainstream of England's developing tradition of realism, and as such had some affinities with the finest fiction of the era, but its editors never seemed to be aware of this. Fiction to them was only an amusement, and perhaps a way to provide information on a social problem now and then. The selection of domestic novels was, more than anything else, a function of the journal's abhorrence of the sensational, an instinctive more than a deliberate choice. Reviewers might condemn the immorality of Newgate novels and tales of high society, but they never really affirmed the moral edification of domestic tales of real life. If fiction did no good, it at least should do no harm. It was chosen only with family reading in mind. In mid-1844 the editors reflected:

> The literary feature of introducing a series of nouvellettes from the pens of the first writers of our time, has met with a very general and gratifying approval. It seems to have harmonized with the family character of this newspaper, and to have fertilized the dry realities

> of the actual world with a pleasant stream of fiction to please the palate, and prompt the imagination of the young.[63]

Not only did domestic fiction suit the family nature of the journal, but it was popular, as we have seen from Charles Mackay's disgruntled observation that readers would have preferred a novel to his "National Music of England." But as an amusement it was granted little encouragement or even space: the original announcement for England and France promised that "the Novel will be printed in weekly episodes of not more than three columns of the Illustrated London News, including embellishments; and arrangements will be made to prevent any entrenchment by it upon the established departments of the Paper." Those eagerly following a novel were often to be disappointed by the postponement of an episode from week to week for "want of space" or by "the imperative pressure of news intelligence." And in 1842, when Ingram and Cooke had taken on book publishing in earnest, they relegated the literary columns of the ILN to printing sample installments of their books. Chapters from William Carleton's Squanders of Squander Castle, for example, and Horace Mayhew's Letters Left at the Pastrycook's appeared only in the hopes of enticing readers into buying the novel in its entirety.[64]

For all the large claims its readers might make for literature, then, poetry and fiction were accorded no real priority in the Illustrated London News, even among the journal's general amusement features, which were themselves secondary, in the period under consideration, to the news. The real heart of the journal's interest in literature was, however, in its reviews, and here, more clearly than anywhere else, is delineated the place of literature in the ILN's panorama of the life of the times.

Several books were reviewed in the ILN's first issue, and reviews appeared with some regularity throughout the first volume. Then, with the first issue of 1843, the proprietors announced that

> circumstances, into the detail of which it would be needless to enter, have hitherto prevented us from devoting so much attention to the concerns of literature as we could have wished, and as many of our friends no doubt expected. Arrangements have, however, we are happy to announce, been made, by which the desires of our readers will in future be amply supplied, and we have great pleasure in informing all who take an interest in the success of this journal, that we mean henceforth regularly to set apart a considerable portion of our space to criticisms on the literary novelties of the day.

The principles by which the literature department would be governed were outlined. The editors promised "to present in our pages a complete and faithful picture of the literature of the time," "to notice every book that is of a character to interest the public generally, or any considerable portion of it." They also promised that their judgments would be above partisan faction and personal abuse and free from any temptations to barter and sell in the literary trade. Here the writer of this article launched into one of those self-congratulatory assertions that were so typical of the ILN in its first year or two, and so transparently a token of the new illustrated paper's uneasiness about its status.

> It need hardly be remarked that, from the commanding position which this journal has now attained, and the great influence which our immense and yet select circulation ensures to it, among those classes whose approbation is most to be coveted--results which are the fruit of an expenditure on the part of its proprietors, and of efforts on the part of its managers, never yet surpassed, perhaps not equalled, by any newspaper--a notice from us must be an object of ambition to authors and publishers generally.

But, in spite of this pressure, readers were assured, criticism in the ILN would be "independent and conscientious."[65]

Yet, with all these grand, and grandly put, ambitions, the reviews of books did not thereafter improve considerably, though for the first part of 1843 they did appear somewhat more regularly and were somewhat longer and more intellectual in content than at most periods in the journal's first decade. But the ILN's "Literature" column never did present that "complete and faithful picture of the literature of the time" that its editors said they hoped to provide. It was too erratic and too likely to be postponed by the press of news for that, and, as we shall see shortly, the reviews were far too brief and perfunctory. But the journal's coverage was broadened by a monthly review of the magazines--"Our Magazine Column," which at first contained brief comments on the articles and fiction serialized therein and noticed the monthly installments of fiction published in parts as well. After 1845, however, "Our Magazine Column" was limited to extracts, and before the end of the journal's first decade it disappeared altogether. In the monthly supplements initiated in 1852 there was a list, with price and publisher, of all books published in the preceding month. Throughout the decade the journal had recorded "Books Received for the Week" on its editorial page, but this was a courtesy acknowledgment to publishers who had sent their books round for review rather than a comprehensive compilation.

When the ILN's "Literature" column did appear, it generally included brief comments on half a dozen or more books, and sometimes a long review of one or two, long not so much on account of a detailed analysis as on account of extended summary and extracts, in which Victorian reviewers generally delighted and the ILN's writers felt, in particular, constituted

"the perfection of our contemporary criticism."[66] There were, occasionally, and particularly after the advent of Mackay in 1848, long reflective review essays, like the very intelligent and balanced consideration of "Literature of the Past Year," offered in May 1849, and the several articles on books of a particular kind--on Christmas books, children's books, and biography.[67] The editors were faithful to their promise to be above partisan faction and personal invective. But, in spite of their protests against puffery in their statement of principles, an article later in 1843 condemning "the puff system," and an exposure of Bentley for sending to the journal's office a "ready-written review," without the book, the editors were not above extending considerable space and lavish praise to books and magazines published by Ingram and Cooke or written by regular contributors to the ILN. The Illuminated Magazine, the Man in the Moon, and the Illustrated London Almanack were never overlooked, and the press of news was never too great to postpone favorable notices of Bayley's Comic Nursery Tales, the Illustrated New Testament, the Illustrated London Spelling Book, John Timbs's Year-Book of Facts, Peter Cunningham's Hand-Book of London, Angus B. Reach's novel Leonard Lindsay, Thomas Miller's Country Life, or Charles Mackay's annuals and collections of poems.[68]

For an idea of the style and manner of reviewing most typical of the ILN in its first decade, and of the kinds of books generally selected for review in its pages, one can do no better than to look at the reviews that appeared in its first two issues and to survey the books that were noticed over the course of its first volume. In the journal's

first "Literature" column, England in the Nineteenth Century, an examination of local topography, issued in parts, was praised for combining "the utile with the dulce." "It comes before the public in a cheap form, which none so complete in text and illustrations have been presented before." Of The Ladies' Companion to the Flower Garden, by Mrs. Loudon, the ILN's critic commented, "This seems a very useful book. . . . a sufficiency of scientific knowledge . . . without too many technical terms." Edwy, by J. Bell Worall, was described as "an historical poem, treated in a religious vein." These comments, with notice that Carpenter's Manual of Arithmetic and Facts and Figures had been received for review, constituted the "Literature" column in the journal's first number. In the next issue the reviewer commented that The Domestic Dictionary and Housekeeper's Manual had a "concise, yet lucid, form." "But it is not only as regards our enjoyment of good eating and drinking that we are to look at this volume--thousands of little matters of detail connected with the right government of a family are treated of in a manner equally pleasing and instructive." A new edition of The Voyages of Captain James Cook was praised for its illustrations and its arrangement: the narrative was broken into "detached portions," "enabling the reader to proceed at his leisure, and to halt, without danger of losing the thread of the detail, when resuming his task." The Hand-Book of Needlework, A Hand-Book for the Architecture, Sculptures, Tombs, and Decorations of Westminster Abbey, London Interiors, With Costumes and Ceremonies, and Christian Examples for Young Persons: Illustrations of the Proverbs of Solomon, received brief, favorable notices, with a promise to return

to the "curious" and "valuable" book on needlework. Samuel Lover's Handy Andy was judged "most decidedly first rate" in its "combination of broad humour and ludicrous blundering." And of Bradshaw's Railway Companion for the Pocket, and Bradshaw's Monthly Railway Guide, the reviewer wrote: "In these days of rapid transition, when every moment has become of incalculable importance in matters connected with travelling, Mr. Bradshaw's railway publications cannot fail to be appreciated as eminently useful."[69]

Here, in these few brief reviews, we can see displayed all the concerns and kinds of comments that were to be repeated throughout the decade in the journal's "Literature" column. The word repeated again and again--we can see it already--is "useful." Above all, the ILN's reviewers were concerned with a book's utility. They always noted if a book filled a particular need, if it disseminated useful knowledge, and if it presented that knowledge in a useful way--that is, in a manner requiring neither hard concentration nor an understanding of technical terms for appreciation or application. The reviewers were likewise concerned that the book be published in a cheap format--and thus be more broadly useful--and they gave warm encouragement throughout the decade to the libraries of cheap editions and reprints published by Murray, Burns, Bogue, and others.[70] As was only appropriate to an illustrated journal, the reviewers always noted when the book under consideration was illustrated, and sometimes an engraving from it was reproduced, with permission, in the ILN. Fiction was generally noticed, but seldom with more than a comment or two on its amusing nature. Novels of the

sensational class were, of course, ignored.[71] Above everything else, for the ILN a book must be useful.

A look at the kinds of books reviewed in 1842 confirms this, and reminds us once again how buried were what scholars consider the great books of the decade--and there were many--in a veritable flood of books on history, geography, and biography, of travel literature, children's books, and collections of religious proverbs, moral aphorisms, sermons, and sentimental poems.[72] The ILN reviewed these, and occasionally works of fiction, parliamentary bluebooks, and pamphlets on topics of current interest. But in its first year--and on throughout the decade--the conductors of the ILN's literature department selected to review guidebooks to gardening and books treating botany for ladies and the "practical" florist; manuals of arithmetic, education, French grammar, interior decoration, the management of bees, and books that presented geology for beginners and an easy introduction to chemistry; domestic dictionaries, housekeeper's manuals, handbooks to needlework, and guides to health; handbooks of architecture and guides to the environs of London, to Westminster, to Hampton Court, to Windsor, to Ireland, and even to faraway Egypt and Afghanistan; railway guides, and guides to the picture galleries. Or, to turn our attention away from 1842, we can select at random the "Literature" column of a later year and let the titles themselves reassert the ILN's overwhelming emphasis on the practical and the useful in literature. For July 13, 1844, the ILN reviewed Records of Israel, two tales of Jewish people by Grace Aguilar, a collection of poems entitled Spring Buds, Summer Flowers, Autumn Leaves, and Winter Hours, a

collection of tales and sketches entitled Facts and Fancies, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress Converted into an Epic Poem (in order, claimed the author, to make Bunyan's masterpiece "more generally read, and more abundantly useful to a particular class of readers"). There were four pamphlets on topics of current political debate or social concern--far more than usual even for this period--Communications on Coal Mines, Factories and the Factory System, Remedies Suggested for Some of the Evils Which Constitute "the Perils of the Nation," and Thoughts on Duelling, and Its Abolition. Two periodicals were noted--the Magazine of Science and School of Arts and the North British Review. The rest of the titles are as follows: Pocket Chart of Foreign Architecture, A Guide to Life Assurance, A Brief Historical Account of the Castle and Manor of Sudeley, Gloucestershire, The Hand-book to Paris, Electrical Experiments, A Treatise upon the Practical Drainage of Land, French--Spanish--German--Italian--&c., without a Master, The Hand-book to Gibraltar, and Backgammon: Its History and Practice--all these in the space of two columns.[73]

In this kind of melange, popular novels by Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer Lytton, Disraeli, Mrs. Gaskell, and Marryat were reviewed, as well as Tennyson's major poems, Wordsworth's Prelude, and works by Carlyle, Ruskin, Macaulay, and Froude, but Mill and the Brontës were overlooked. As for the magazines that were considered, or noticed with extracts, they were almost exclusively the monthly miscellanies of light essays, poetry, tales, and serialized fiction: Ainsworth's, Bentley's, Blackwood's, Chambers's, Dolman's, the Dublin University Magazine, Fraser's, Hood's, Jerrold's Shilling Magazine, the Metropolitan, the

New Monthly, the New Monthly Belle Assemblée, Sharpe's, Tait's, and, of course, the Illuminated Magazine and the Man in the Moon. Newman's English Review was noticed once, and, on occasion, the Church of England Magazine, the United Service Magazine, the Farmer's Magazine, the Artizan, Mainzer's Musical Times, the Chess Player's Magazine, the Sportsman, the Sporting Review, and the New Sporting Magazine, but no recognition was given to either the high-class intellectual reviews--the Edinburgh, the Quarterly, the Westminster--or the cheap journals of fiction that specialized, in varying degress, in the sensational--the London Journal, the Family Herald, and Reynold's Miscellany--or, strangely enough, to Punch.[74]

The reviews in the ILN were, then, written for those who weren't primarily interested in books. They were written for busy people, practical people, people who read only in snatches or on railway coaches, people who wanted to know a little about a great many subjects rather than a great deal about one or two. And they were written, it seems, by people whose primary interest, likewise, was not in belles lettres. "In the palmy days of the Edinburgh and Quarterly," the ILN's reviewers observed,

> the conversation in every man's mouth was the tone, temper, and ability of the last review. Literary criticism was a subject alike for the drawingroom and the club. Now, who asks, except on rare occasions, which is the grand article in the last Quarterly? Railways and revolutions have put the finishing stroke to this sort of excitement, which has been gradually declining for many years past.[75]

Surely the reviews in the ILN never held the primary place they occupied in many Victorian periodicals, or even the primary place among the

magazine features that they had in most daily newspapers. The brief, even perfunctory comments that usually constituted the reviews rarely opened into a discussion of ideas and contexts. And the reviewers seemed to show less interest than the ILN's editors in general had in topics of current interest to the literary community--in puffery, for example, or the campaign for a purified penny press.[76]

In fact, there is, in the "Literature" column, the same deliberate avoidance of the controversial that seems almost to be the journal's hallmark. Reviewing a book entitled Simple Sketches from Church History for Young Persons, the ILN's reviewer declined comment on Puseyism in a manner strikingly like that in which the editors elsewhere declined comment on the Anti-Corn Law League: "We perceive some tincture of Puseyism, but as we avoid controversial subjects, on this head we will say nothing."[77] Most revealing, however, is Mackay's explanation, in his autobiography, of the dilemma posed by a book on clairvoyance--The Relation between Science and Religion--by his dear and ailing friend George Combe. Clairvoyance was at the time a very controversial subject, but Mackay could not allow the book, for Combe's sake, to be either unnoticed or attacked in a journal with which he was associated. Nor, from his friendship to Combe, could he undertake the review himself, nor could he, "in justice to the proprietors of the Illustrated London News, run the risk of offending its numerous readers, or in Mr. Combe's own words, 'to run too much counter to public opinion.'" In the end, he asked an agreeable reviewer to summarize the book, and he submitted the review to Combe for approval before printing it; at Combe's dissatisfaction,

he commissioned a second review, this one, at last, acceptable all round.[78]

So criticism in the ILN, it seems, was written to please readers--and authors, editors, and proprietors--rather than "to see the object as in itself it really is," or "to know the best that is known and thought in the world, and by in its turn making this known, to create a current of true and fresh ideas," as Matthew Arnold would have had it.[79] And to please was, inevitably, to praise. It was rare that a book reviewed in the ILN was noticed unfavorably; so rare that such notices are memorable, and in this, for once, the ILN was much like its Sunday press contemporaries.[80] The ILN's reviewers did dislike, for example, the quaint conceits and irregular rhythms of Leigh Hunt's poetry and the hexameters of Longfellow's Evangeline. They pointed to Lord Brougham's misinterpretation of the French Revolution in the Letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne. And, in a judgment unexpected from reviewers generally taken with popularized science and bowdlerized tales, The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer Modernized was decried for its insincerity and insensitivity to the "magic eloquence" of Chaucer and the "curiosa felicitas of his expressions." But such comments are atypical, and books selected for review were almost invariably commended. If annuals in general were "meretricious" and mere "namby-pamby," the particular annual under review was of a superior class. And it seems that there never was a manual that wasn't useful, or a handbook not well timed.[81]

In the same essay in which the ILN's editors asserted that they would "form our judgments on mature deliberation, and state them with

perfect candour. . . . without fear and withour favour," they also explained,

> We hope, paradoxical as the expectation may appear, to suit the tastes of all the world--to be neither too scholastic for those who wish to combine amusement with instruction, nor too popular for those who are in search of something better than the mere commonplaces of which reviews are too frequently made up.[82]

In this they disappointed, for "mere commonplaces," mere pleasantries, were, by and large, the stuff of which the ILN's reviews were made. But in pleasing, in finding something for everyone and something to praise in all, the journal succeeded very well indeed.

If the reviews in the ILN were not written for those primarily interested in books, and the poetry and fiction not for those primarily interested in literature, then it is fair to say also that the theater reviews were not for those primarily interested in drama, the "Fine Arts" column not for those primarily interested in art, the "Popular Science" column surely not for scientists, and so on. To say this acknowledges, once again, the superficiality that Charles Knight found disappointing about the Illustrated London News. But it also points to the very wide range and expansive nature of the journal's interests. If it covered so much, it simply could not, at the same time, penetrate deeply. Nor did it ever intend to. It was not a journal for professionals.

We have been considering in this chapter the magazine interest of the Illustrated London News, its special features designed to amuse and instruct and to speak to the leisure-time interests and activities of

its middle-class readers. It is important to note here that the entire journal--with its reporting of the news, its discussion of current political and social topics, and its amusements features--was a leisure-time journal. It arrived at the week's end--perhaps families really were impatient for its arrival and really did spend a pleasant Saturday evening (or Sunday afternoon) round the hearth, looking long at all the pictures and reading those articles that sounded interesting. Like the very books its reviewers praised, the ILN was useful--chock-full, in fact, of information on the week's events, the week's politics, the entertainments, exhibitions, and books currently offered, and all sorts of other things, from farming and gardening, to fishing and sporting, to fashions and travel, and on and on. No report or essay was so long or so technical that it taxed the attention unduly; one could pick the paper up and put it down again at his leisure, and, like the edition of Cook's voyages the reviewer praised, never fear losing his place. There were humorous articles, too--good, clean fun--and poems and fiction. And all, in the language of the day, was beautifully embellished.

Over the decade the journal expanded those features designed to instruct and amuse in a light-hearted, engaging, yet practical way. The essays grew briefer, the pictures larger, as the newspaper of the 1840s became, in time, the news magazine. Breadth of coverage was always preferred to depth of analysis, and diversity over concentration. "In its pages," as Mason Jackson commented, "there was something for everybody."[83] The panorama was, in the end, a kind of one-dimensional sampler, but no less pleasing for that. "To suit the tastes of all the

world"--or all the world that mattered--that was the goal of the Illustrated London News, and looking at the variety of its columns and the multiplicity of its appeals, at the sensitive and sensible way in which its proprietors shaped its contents to meet the tastes and interests of readers, and looking, too, at its circulation and longevity, one has to say, again, that it succeeded very well.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. ILN, 9 Feb. 1850, supp., p. 98. This poem is "from a correspondent," signed "Y."
2. See Charles Mackay, Through the Long Day; or, Memorials of a Literary Life during Half a Century (London: W. H. Allen, 1887), I, 353; "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London, No. xvii--The Illustrated London News," London Journal, 19 July 1845, p. 328; and the article on the ILN in the 1847 edition of C. Mitchell, The Newspaper Press Directory: Containing Full Particulars Relative to Each Journal Published in the United Kingdom and the British Isles; Together with a Complete Guide to the Newspaper Press of Each County, etc. (London: C. Mitchell, 1847), p. 98.
3. ILN, 30 Mar. 1844, p. 202. See also appendix 1 for other poems written in tribute to the ILN, all of which emphasize, as the title of one of them puts it, the "ubiquity and variety" of the Illustrated London News.
4. Mason Jackson, "Thirty Years of Pictorial Journalism," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 600.
5. Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 190-99.
6. For the review of Old Parr, see ILN, 14 Oct. 1843, p. 250; see also Arthur A. Adrian, Mark Lemon: First Editor of Punch (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 91. For jokes in Punch on Old Parr and Parr's Life Pills, see chapter 2. On the ILN and drama in the 1840s, see Clement Scott, "Fifty Years at the Play," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 601; and J. T. Grein, "The World of the Theatre: Ninety Years of Drama--Tendencies and Memories," ILN, 30 Apr. 1932, pp. 734, 736. In general, see Allardyce Nicoll, "The Theatre," in Early Victorian England, 1830-1865, ed. G. M. Young (1934; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1951), II, 265-82.
7. For music during the 1840s, see John W. Dodds, The Age of Paradox: A Biography of England, 1841-1851 (London: Victor Gollancz, 1953), pp. 267-73; on the excitement over Jenny Lind, see pp. 304-06. See also E. J. Dent, "Early Victorian Music," in Early Victorian England, II, 249-64.
8. ILN, 23 Mar. 1844, p. 184; 7 Nov. 1846, p. 297; 10 June 1848, p. 382; 17 May 1851, supp., p. 438; Mackay's lyrics had appeared as a poem a week earlier, ILN, 10 May 1851, p. 376. On the polka craze, see Dodds, Age of Paradox, pp. 152-53.
9. See Charles Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections of Life, Literature, and Public Affairs: From 1830 to 1870 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), II, 165-217; the quotations are from pp. 165, 215, and 217. Mackay arranged for the proprietors of the "National Illustrated Library" to purchase a collection of Scottish songs and ballads from Peter Buchan, a Scottish ballad collector. See the correspondence reprinted in William Walker, Peter Buchan and Other Papers on Scottish and English Ballads and Songs (1915; rpt. Norwood, Pa.: Norwood, 1973), pp. 111-22; the final quotation is from a letter from

Mackay to Buchan, 7 Apr. 1851, reprinted on p. 113. On the response of the press to the "National Music of England," see also ILN, 10 Jan. 1852, p. 30.

10. ILN, 27 May 1843, p. 347.
11. Others found the claims of art and truth in news illustrations mutually exclusive. See the discussion in Henry Blackburn, The Art of Illustration, rev. J. S. Eland (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1901), pp. 15-16; Sidney Fairfield, "The Tyranny of the Pictorial," Lippincott's Magazine, 55 (June 1895), 864; and M. H. Spielmann, "Art Journalism--Then and Now," ILN, summer number 1892, pp. x-xi.
12. ILN, 18 June 1842, p. 88.
13. ILN, 13 May 1843, p. 328, the review is continued 20 May 1843, pp. 338-40; see also the editorial for 23 Mar. 1850, pp. 190-91, where the Royal Academy is said to benefit artists rather than promote art. On newspaper reviewing of art generally, see A. P. Oppé, "Art," in Early Victorian England, II, 120-21.
14. The triple number appeared on 26 May 1849; for Murillo's Holy Family, see ILN, 17 Jan. 1846, p. 41. For the Nelson statue, see ILN, 10 Sept. 1842, p. 284; and 4 Nov. 1843, p. 289. For the Wellington statue, see ILN, 11 July 1846, p. 21; and 3 Oct. 1846, pp. 209, 213, 216-17. Chatto's Wood-Engraving appeared in ILN, 20 Apr.-6 July 1884 [the last part was issued as a supplement to the issue for 6 July 1844, but is paginated with volume 4].
15. On the Birmingham Exposition, see ILN, 15 Sept. 1849, pp. 189-90; for the Cork Exhibition, see ILN, 19 June 1852, supp., pp. 493-99. On the ILN's Exhibition Supplements, see chapter 2; and the advertisement, ILN, 4 May 1850, p. 302.
16. "A Gossip about the Art-Union Cartoons," ILN, 17 Jan. 1846, p. 42; for Strawberry Hill, see ILN, 21 May 1842, pp. 24-25; for the sale at Stowe, see the issues for 2-23 Sept. 1848; see also the review of The Stowe Catalogue, ILN, 30 Dec. 1848, p. 426. For the ILN and art collectors generally, see Frank Davis, "A Page for Collectors: The Art World in 'The Hungry Forties,'" ILN, 30 Apr. 1932, p. 726.
17. ILN, 21 Apr. 1849, p. 260.
18. ILN, 13 Dec. 1851, supp., p. 718.
19. ILN, preface to volume 6, Jan.-June 1845.
20. ILN, 11 Mar. 1843, p. 168; 22 May 1847, p. 328. On sports generally, see Christopher Hibbert, The Illustrated London News: Social History of Victorian Britain (London: Angus & Robertson, 1975), pp. 73-75; and Robert W. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 34-51.
21. ILN, 22 Mar. 1851, pp. 224-25.
22. See Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, pp. 173-74; and Stella Margotson, Leisure and Pleasure in the Nineteenth Century (London: Cassell, 1969), pp. 52-61. For pugilism in the Sunday papers, see H. R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism (1887; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), II, 321; and the article on the Sunday Times in Mitchell, Newspaper Press Directory, p. 127.
23. ILN, 24 Sept. 1842, p. 310. The account, of less than a quarter of a column, is on p. 315; the other editorial is in the issue for 10 Dec. 1842, p. 486.

24. ILN, 21 June 1845, p. 395; 13 Sept. 1845, p. 163; 27 June 1846, p. 418; 28 Mar. 1846, p. 210.
25. ILN, 14 May 1842, p. 13; 21 May 1842, p. 27; 28 May 1842, p. 36; and see the early volumes of the ILN generally and the references to Crowquill in chapters 2 and 3.
26. ILN, 6 May 1848, p. 298; for other examples of Meadows's humorous contributions, see ILN, 7 Dec. 1844, pp. 360-61, 364; 7 Aug. 1847, pp. 88-90; 16 Oct. 1847, p. 256; and 24 Mar. 1849, p. 200.
27. ILN, 21 Mar. 1846, p. 200.
28. ILN, 7 Nov. 1846, p. 298; 26 Dec. 1846, p. 413. On "blackies," then very popular in Punch, see M. H. Spielmann, The History of Punch (1895; rpt. New York: Greenwood, 1969), p. 413.
29. ILN, 23 Dec. 1848, supp., p. 415.
30. ILN, 2 Mar. 1850, p. 149.
31. See especially the two installments, ILN, 13 Dec. 1851, supp., p. 720; and 17 Jan. 1852, supp., p. 64.
32. For Vizetelly's claim, see Henry Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner, 1893), I, 226; for the "portrait" of Dickens, see ILN, 8 Apr. 1843, pp. 239-40; for the introduction to "Portraits of the Sovereigns and Princes of Europe," see ILN, 6 Jan. 1844, p. 6.
33. ILN, 25 Nov. 1843, p. 349; 9 Jan. 1847, pp. 21-22. For a quotation from Cunningham, see, e.g., the column featuring the birthplace of Fielding, Sharpham Park, Somerset, ILN, 24 Aug. 1850, p. 169.
34. ILN, 25 Nov. 1843, p. 342.
35. For the game played by telegraph, see ILN, 12 Apr. 1845, p. 233. On the chess column generally, see Baruch H. Wood, "An Autocrat of the Chess Table," ILN, 13 May 1967, p. 102; and E. E. Kellett, "The Press," in Early Victorian England, II, 62-63. See also chapter 2.
36. For "A Few Days in the Lake District," see ILN, 16 Aug. 1851, pp. 217-18; 23 Aug. 1851, pp. 237-38; 11 Oct. 1851, pp. 452-54; for "A Ramble in Hertfordshire," see ILN, 11 Oct. 1851, supp., pp. 470-71; for "Dottings on the Danube," see ILN, 13 Dec. 1851, supp., p. 719; for "Out of Town," see ILN, 18 Oct. 1845, pp. 245-46; 1 Nov. 1845, p. 283; for "Flying Sheets from Our Travelling Contributor," see the issues for 25 Sept.-27 Nov. 1847; for "The Railway Note-Book," see the issues for 6 Mar.-19 June 1852.
37. ILN, 22 Sept. 1849, pp. 197-98; 11 Aug. 1849, pp. 111-12. For similar editorial concerns, see chapter 4; and, especially, ILN, 14 Feb. 1846, p. 105; and 29 Oct. 1842, p. 385.
38. For the latter, see ILN, 16 Dec. 1848, pp. 373-74; and 31 Mar. 1849, pp. 213-14. See, too, the treatment of the Xanthian Marbles, exhibited at the British Museum, ILN, 11 Feb. 1843, pp. 97-98. On the ILN's treatment of archaeology in general, see John L. Myres, "Ninety Years of Archaeological Discovery: Landmarks of Field Work," ILN, 30 Apr. 1932, pp. 698, 748; and Edward Bacon, "Digging up the Past," ILN, 13 May 1967, p. 54. On the ILN's interest in science, see also W. P. Pycraft, "The World of Science: Three Generations of Widening Knowledge--Great Scientific Occasions Recorded in the Illustrated London News," ILN, 30 Apr. 1932, pp. 744-45.

39. ILN, 17 Aug. 1850, supp., p. 151; the reference is probably to the series in the Morning Chronicle on the condition of the agricultural and laboring classes.
40. For the introduction to "Anniversaries," see ILN, 14 Jan. 1843, p. 28; for the introduction to "Foreign Corn Ports," see ILN, 10 Apr. 1847, p. 236; for "Pictures of the Working People," see ILN, 1 Feb. 1845, p. 80; and 8 Feb. 1845, p. 86. See also chapters 3 and 4.
41. ILN, 21 Aug. 1852, supp., p. 146; 29 Apr. 1843, p. 288; 20 July 1844, p. 38. See Richard D. Altick, "The Literature of an Imminent Democracy," in 1859: Entering an Age of Crisis, ed. Philip Appleman, William A. Madden, and Michael Wolff (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959), p. 226. See also Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 360-61; and Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850: A Study of the Literature Produced for the Working Classes in Early Victorian Urban England (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 41. The man who conducted this column for fifty years for Lloyd's Newspaper was well suited, claimed Thomas Catling, by his training as a barrister. See My Life's Pilgrimage, introd. Lord Burnham (London: John Murray, 1911), pp. 228-29.
42. On the transformation of the ILN from newspaper to news magazine, see Spielmann, "Art Journalism," pp. x-xi; "A History of the Illustrated London News: 1842-1967" [flyer distributed by Copyright and Syndication Department, Illustrated London News], xerox announcement attached to p. 4. For the transformation of the Sunday press, see Williams, Long Revolution, pp. 189-213; and Williams, "General Profile," and A. C. H. Smith, "Leisured Entertainment--Some General Conclusion," both in Your Sunday Paper, ed. Richard Hoggart (London: University of London Press, 1967), pp. 13-29, 179-91. On the increasing leisure of England's middle classes, see Altick, English Common Reader, pp. 86-89.
43. ILN, 13 Aug. 1842, p. 209; 10 June 1843, pp. 395-96.
44. For the Burns Festival, see ILN, 10-17 Aug. 1844; and chapter 2. The Shakespeare number appeared on 18 Sept. 1847; see also the leader for 21 Aug. 1847, pp. 113-14.
45. For Campbell, see "The 'All-Hail Hereafter,'" ILN, 10 Aug. 1844, pp. 81-82; for the Countess of Blessington, ILN, 9 June 1948, p. 396.
46. For this popular column, see also chapter 2; for examples of "Town Talk and Table Talk," see ILN, 16 Mar. 1850, p. 178; 6 Apr. 1850, p. 234; 18 May 1850, pp. 356-57; 15 June 1850, p. 427.
47. ILN, 17 May 1851, pp. 407-08; 12 Jan. 1850, pp. 17-18; see also 24 May 1851, pp. 439-40; 24 Apr. 1852, pp. 313-14; 11 Sept. 1852, pp. 193-94; and, in general, chapter 4.
48. ILN, 22 Oct. 1842, p. 375; 29 Oct. 1842, p. 394; 19 Nov. 1842, p. 443. The first and third are by J. Augustine Wade; the second is printed anonymously.
49. See "Songs and Hymns of Life: No. 1," ILN, 19 Oct. 1850, p. 314; "Nature and Her Lover," ILN, 30 Dec. 1848, p. 426; "Angel Visits: A Lyric for the New Year," ILN, 5 Jan. 1850, p. 12.

50. See ILN, 13 Jan. 1849, p. 27; 22 Sept. 1849, p. 199; 22 July 1848, p. 34.
51. ILN, 9 Nov. 1844, p. 302; 22 Aug. 1846, p. 122; 20 Oct. 1849, p. 266.
52. See, for example, Bayley's "Day of Waterloo," ILN, 21 June 1845, p. 400; and Mackay's "The Neapolitan Fisherman's Song," offered in conjunction with a reproduction of Riedel's Neapolitan Fisher Family, ILN, 20 July 1850, p. 65.
53. Edmund Yates, "On Revient Toujours!" ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 590.
54. Review of Giotto and Francesca, and Other Poems, by Andrew Alexander Knox, ILN, 21 Jan. 1843, pp. 45-56.
55. For the French feuilleton, see James, Fiction for the Working Man, pp. 136-45; for the serialization of novels in English newspapers, see Altick, English Common Reader, pp. 346, 360; James Grant, The Newspaper Press (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1871-72), III, 68; and Joseph Hatton, Journalistic London, Being a Series of Sketches of Famous Pens and Papers of the Day (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882), p. 201.
56. ILN, 21 May 1842, pp. 30-31. A list of tales and novels published in the ILN, 1842-52, is in appendix 2, together with the dates of publication.
57. ILN, 1 Oct. 1842, p. 326. The article on the ILN in the London Journal in 1845 claimed that "the News has . . . discontinued works of fiction in its columns." "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of London, No. xvii--The Illustrated London News," p. 328. I see no evidence for this statement. See also, Jackson Pictorial Press, p. 298.
58. For a description of this fiction, see Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History (London: Cohen & West, 1957), ch. 2. This is an excellent study, and my description of fiction in the ILN is modeled on Dalziel's methods. See also Kathleen Tillotson, Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, corrected ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 140-41; Amy Cruse, Victorians and Their Reading (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1935), pp. 124-26; and Altick, English Common Reader, pp. 289-93.
59. ILN, 12 Jan. 1850, pp. 17-18; review of The Traduced: An Historical Romance, by N. Mitchell, ILN, 18 Feb. 1843, p. 115. For novels of the silver-fork school, see Tillotson, Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, pp. 73-74, 85-86.
60. The Sunday Times published, in addition to Ainsworth, novels of fashionable life such as Lady Blessington's Strathern. See Harold Hobson, Phillip Knightly, and Leonard Russell, The Pearl of Days: An Intimate Memoir of the Sunday Times, 1833-1972 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972), p. 40.
61. One character in Mabel Marchmont emerged from prison insane, the result, Miller takes care to point out, of the silent system. The Merchant's Daughter depicts the sufferings and death of a seamstress and her father, once a wealthy merchant, and the author, Julia Pardoe, digresses to comment on the condition of paupers. The anti-republican tales are A Tale of Brittany and M. Reybaud's Jerome Paturot, translated and abridged by Juliette Bauer.

62. Footnote to Gold; or, The Half-Brothers: A Story of Life in the Middle Station, ILN, 4 July 1846, p. 13. Throughout, in comments that are instrusive but interesting and wise, Toulmin reaffirms her concern for the experiences of everyday life. In a spirit not unlike that of George Eliot, especially in the well-known passage in chapter 17 of Adam Bede, Toulmin observes in chapter 4: "Fancy a Heroine, with a splashed gown, dining off half-cold greasy hashed mutton. Reader, if you can realize such a thing, let me shake hands with you in spirit." She goes on to satirize the thinly clad, perfectly coiffed, and never-eating heroines of fashionable novels and romances. See ILN, 15 Aug. 1846, p. 110.
63. ILN, preface to volume 4, Jan.-June 1844. Elsewhere reviewers in the 1840s were beginning to sift and group popular fiction, and to attempt generalizations about it, but not until decades later was fiction generally taken seriously. See Tillotson, Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, pp. 16-18; and Altick, English Common Reader, p. 233.
64. ILN, 1 Oct. 1842, p. 326; for postponements, see, among many others, ILN, 17 June 1843, p. 416; and 24 June 1843, p. 432. Of interest is the appeal made to the reader of the installments of Squanders of Squander Castle "who wishes to know more of the subject of Ireland than he can glean from a thousand newspapers and Parliamentary Blue Books," ILN, 1 May 1852, supp., p. 355.
65. ILN, 7 Jan. 1843, p. 10.
66. Review of Blackwood's, ILN, 10 Aug. 1844, p. 90; see, in general, J. D. Jump, "Weekly Reviewing in the Eighteen-Fifties," Review of English Studies, 24 (1948), 42-57.
67. "Literature of the Past Year," ILN, 26 May 1849, supp., pp. 351, 354-55, 358-59; "Christmas Books," ILN, 22 Dec. 1849, supp., pp. 426-27; "Books for the Season," ILN, 28 Dec. 1850, supp., p. 519; "A Handful of Children's Books," ILN, 3 Jan. 1852, supp., p. 19; "A Chapter on Biography," ILN, 31 Jan. 1852, supp., pp. 111-12; "Illustrated Gift Books" and "Books for Christmas and the New Year," ILN, 25 Dec. 1852, supp., pp. 585-87. "A Chapter on Biography" is primarily a consideration of Disraeli's Life of Bentinck and is signed "J.H.," most likely John A. Heraud, whose full three initials also appear on the ILN's review of Tennyson's "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington," ILN, 27 Nov. 1852, supp., p. 438. These are, to my knowledge, the only signed reviews for the period treated in this study.
68. See ILN, 7 Jan. 1843, p. 10; "The Puff System," ILN, 22 July 1843, pp. 58-59; on Bentley's "ready-written review," see ILN, 22 Apr. 1843, p. 272. For reviews of the Illuminated Magazine, see, for example, ILN, 13 May 1843, p. 327; 12 Aug. 1843, p. 112; 4 Nov. 1843, p. 299; 23 Dec. 1843, p. 411, among others. For reviews of the Man in the Moon, see ILN, 30 Jan. 1847, p. 76; and 10 July 1847, p. 27, among others. For the Illustrated London Almanack, see ILN, 3 Jan. 1846, p. 3; and 30 Oct. 1847, pp. 283-84; for Bayley's Comic Nursery Tales, see ILN, 18 June 1842, p. 93; and 3 Sept. 1842, p. 269; see

also the reviews of Bayley's The Souvenir of the Season: The Wake of Extacy, A Memory of Jenny Lind, ILN, 15 Jan. 1848, p. 24; and his Illustrated Musical Almanac, ILN, 5 Dec. 1846, p. 362. For the Illustrated New Testament, see ILN, 20 Feb. 1847, p. 124; for the Illustrated London Spelling Book, see ILN, 14 July 1849, p. 26; and 16 Nov. 1850, supp., p. 391, for an article entitled "Popular Education" that is actually a puff for the Illustrated London Spelling Book, the Illustrated London Reading Book, and the Illustrated London Instructor. For Timbs's Year-Book of Facts, see ILN, 12 Feb. 1848, p. 89; and 26 May 1849, supp., p. 359; for Cunningham's Hand-Book of London, see ILN, 8 Sept. 1849, p. 175; for Reach's Leonard Lindsay, see ILN, 1 June 1850, supp., pp. 394-95; for Miller's Pictures of Country Life, and Summer Rambles in Green and Shady Places, see ILN, 14 Nov. 1846, p. 315. For Mackay's edition of Fisher's Drawingroom Scrap-Book, see ILN, 20 Oct. 1849, p. 266; and 23 Nov. 1850, p. 410; for his Egeria, ILN, 1 June 1850, supp., p. 394. Mackay's Scenery and Poetry of the English Lakes was reviewed in 1846 (ILN, 18 July 1846, p. 46), but this was prior to his association with the ILN.

69. ILN, 14 May 1842, p. 12; 21 May 1842, p. 28.
70. See, for example, the review of Murray's "Home and Colonial Library," ILN, 30 Dec. 1843, p. 426; also 7 Feb. 1846, p. 99; the review of "The Library of Travel," ILN, 11 May 1844, p. 306; of Burns's "Fireside Library," ILN, 5 Apr. 1845, p. 218; of "The European Library," ILN, 22 Nov. 1845, p. 330; of "The Parlour Novelist," ILN, 14 Nov. 1846, p. 315; and of Bogue's "Manuals of Utility, Practical Information, and Universal Knowledge," ILN, 19 June 1847, p. 394. See also the comments on these libraries in "Literature for the Past Year," ILN, 26 May 1849, supp., p. 359.
71. Copies of novels by G. P. R. James, for example, were acknowledged as received (ILN, 4 Apr. 1846, p. 223; 4 July 1846, p. 6; 31 July 1847, p. 70), but never reviewed. In the long review essay for 1849, however, James's Beauchamp, Rizzio, and The Forger were noticed briefly and unsympathetically. See ILN, 26 May 1849, supp., p. 355.
72. Charles Knight records that "works on divinity" were more than twice as numerous as any other class of book published between 1816 and 1851. The Old Printer and the Modern Press (London: J. Murray, 1854), pp. 261-63. See also Cruse, Victorians and Their Reading, passim.
73. ILN, 13 July 1844, p. 26.
74. For Dickens, see the review of American Notes (unfavorable), ILN, 22 Oct. 1842, pp. 378-79; A Christmas Carol, ILN, 23 Dec. 1843, pp. 410-11; The Chimes, ILN, 21 Dec. 1844, pp. 394-95; The Cricket on the Hearth, ILN, 20 Dec. 1845, p. 394; and 27 Dec. 1845, p. 406; The Battle of Life: A Love Story, ILN, 26 Dec. 1846, p. 410. Martin Chuzzlewit was reviewed in monthly parts in 1843 and 1844; Dombey and Son in 1846-48, also a review, ILN, 3 Oct. 1846, p. 218; David Copperfield in 1849-50, also a review, ILN, 26 May 1849, supp., p. 359. For Thackeray, monthly parts of Vanity Fair were excerpted in

1847 and 1848; of Pendennis in 1848-50, with a review, ILN, 26 May 1849, supp., p. 359. For Bulwer Lytton, see the reviews of Lucretia, ILN, 5 Dec. 1846, p. 362; 12 Dec. 1846, p. 378; and 19 Dec. 1846, p. 391; for Harold, ILN, 17 June 1848, p. 393; 1 July 1848, p. 421; and 26 May 1849, supp., p. 351; for King Arthur, ILN, 26 May 1849, supp., p. 358. For Disraeli, see the review of Tancred, ILN, 20 Mar. 1847, p. 187; Sybil (1845) was not reviewed. For Mrs. Gaskell, see the review of Mary Barton, ILN, 26 May 1849, supp. p. 355, 358. For Marryat, see the reviews of The Children of the New Forest, ILN, 21 Aug. 1847, p. 123; and 30 Oct. 1847, p. 282. For Tennyson, see the review of the Princess, ILN, 15 Jan. 1848, p. 24; of In Memoriam, ILN, 6 July 1850, pp. 28-29; of the Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington, ILN, 27 Nov. 1852, supp., p. 483; his Poems (1842) was not reviewed. For Wordsworth's Prelude, see ILN, 17 Aug. 1850, supp., p. 150. For Carlyle, an excerpt of Latter-Day Pamphlets appeared in ILN, 9 Feb. 1850, p. 83; Past and Present (1843) was not reviewed. For Ruskin, see the review of The Seven Lamps of Architecture, ILN, 26 May 1849, supp. p. 359; of The Stones of Venice, ILN, 26 Apr. 1851, p. 321; Modern Painters (1843) was not reviewed. For Macaulay's History of England, see ILN 26 May 1849, supp., p. 351; for Froude's Nemesis of Faith, ILN, 26 May 1849, supp., p. 359. Anne Brontë's Tenant of Wildfell Hall was reviewed, ILN, 26 May 1849, p. 358. The receipt of a copy of Jane Eyre (1847) was acknowledged (ILN, 27 Nov. 1847, p. 342), but never reviewed. A copy of The Condition of the Working Classes (1847) was also acknowledged (ILN, 13 Nov. 1847, p. 310), but not reviewed. I find no mention of Wuthering Heights (1847), of Mill's Logic (1843) or Political Economy (1848), of Kingsley's Yeast (1848), or early novels by Trollope. For Newman's English Review, see ILN, 20 July 1844, pp. 45-46.

75. "Literature of the Past Year," ILN, 26 May 1849, supp., p. 351.
76. See Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction, pp. 46-47; and Tillotson, Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, pp. 39-41.
77. Review of Simple Sketches from Church History for Young Persons, by Mrs. Toogood, ILN, 21 Jan. 1843, p. 47. For the ILN on the Anti-Corn Law League, see chapter 4.
78. See Mackay, Forty Years' Recollections, II, 253-65; the quotation is from pp. 264-65.
79. Arnold, "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" (1864), in Essays in Criticism, First Series (1865; London: Macmillan, 1932), pp. 1, 19.
80. For reviewing in the Sunday Times, see Hobson, Knightly, and Russell, Pearl of Days, pp. 35-38.
81. Review of The Palfrey: A Love Story of the Olden Time, by Leigh Hunt, ILN, 30 July 1842, p. 188; review of Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie, by H. W. Longfellow, ILN, 9 Feb. 1850, supp. p. 99; review of Lord Brougham's Letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne, on the Late Revolution in France, ILN, 14 Oct. 1848, p. 235; review of The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer Modernized, ILN, 5 Nov. 1842, p. 410. See also

the review of tales from the Arabian Nights, ILN, 30 Dec. 1843, p. 426. For annuals, see, for example, the review of Friendship's Offering of Sentiment and Mirth, ILN, 27 Jan. 1844, p. 50; review of Poems and Pictures: With One Hundred Illustrations on Wood, by English Artists, ILN, 10 Jan. 1846, pp. 27-28; review of The Book of Beauty; or, Regal Gallery, edited by the Countess of Blessington, ILN, 18 Dec. 1847, p. 402.

82. ILN, 7 Jan. 1843, p. 10.
83. Jackson, "Thirty Years of Pictorial Journalism, p. 600.

Conclusion

Minister to the Common Wants

In this brief concluding section I want to attempt an assessment of the importance of the Illustrated London News and to place it in relation to the larger aspects of Victorian culture and British newspaper history.

The Illustrated London News can be thought of as the very mirror of Victorian culture that it often claimed to be. The journal was a commercial venture. Whatever moral or educational principles his obituarist and his widow might claim, Herbert Ingram started the paper to make money, and his eye was on the profit all along. So he gave his readers what they wanted to see and to read. To suit their tastes he altered his emphasis, added new features, and let others drop. The paper was not intended to convert or reform or improve. It was a businessman's enterprise, immediately and permanently successful.[1] From its catering to the tastes and interests of its readers, and from their enthusiastic response, may we not, then, see in the pages of the ILN a mirror of mid-Victorian middle-class values and concerns?

What we read there is that mid-Victorian, middle-class readers had broad-ranging interests in the news, in politics and social issues, and in cultural events and social affairs, in entertainments and leisure pastimes. They wanted to be informed about all of these, and were pleased in particular by the illustration of them. They loved to hear of the accomplishments, both moral and physical, of their age, and delighted in the hallmarks of their progress--the public ceremonies that

dedicated libraries and opened orphanages and inaugurated new railway lines and hailed Queen Victoria and her growing family. They were genuinely, even deeply, concerned about the nation's poor, and worried over the condition of England. Yet often their care was less a sympathetic response than an anxiety over the status quo, in which they had an increasing stake, and when free trade restored employment and prosperity, their hearts hardened a bit, at least toward the "undeserving" poor. They did not want to see the miseries of the poor portrayed too graphically--after all, they chose to avoid such scenes, such social mixing, in real life, so why should they be exposed to them in their newspapers? Such scenes were shocking, sensational, unrespectable. News of crimes, too, of passion and violence and brutal murders, was shocking, and too likely to bring a blush to the cheek of a young person to make for family reading. They were decent people, these middle-class Victorians, and sober and serious-minded and hard working and busy. Proud of England and their Queen, they were patriotic, even chauvinistic. They were concerned with the surfaces of things. They wanted to be well informed, but to have their information presented to them in neat packages. They did not have time for analysis. They liked digests, manuals, guidebooks. For, above all, they were a practical people. Yet they laughed hard at jokes and parodies and caricatures, and they were sentimental and held family life and domestic virtues in high regard. All this can be seen reflected in the pages of the Illustrated London News, and more. For we can see traced, too, in the decade under consideration, a part of that sensibility shift associated with what we loosely call Victorianism--

a decreasing emphasis on crime and social problems and an increasing concern for decency and respectability in news reporting and in humor, a constriction of attitude and approach even while the paper's contents and scope were expanding, as the heyday of "the innocent tyranny of the Young Person," in Kathleen Tillotson's phrase, was ushered in.[2]

Yet when this is said and done, we find we have really come up with nothing new; we have only elaborated what might have been expected and confirmed what is already well-known. Then, too, other periodicals of the Victorian era, even some that were not so obviously intended to be panoramas, have been cast as mirrors of Victorian culture. And what a different public, with different values, though still very recognizably Victorian, is reflected in, say, the Athenaeum.[3] Or the Westminster Review, The Times, the London Journal, the Weekly Dispatch, and even in Punch! Scholars, it seems, find sermons in stones and mirrors everywhere, and with so many of them, which doesn't distort, which isn't partial? And really, can one make the leap from what a journal says to what its readers whole-heartedly believe? I look at the stack of periodicals that arrive at our house regularly--from Victorian Studies to Parade Magazine, from Time Magazine to the Village Voice, from the New Yorker to Organic Gardening--and I wonder. Each, in truth, reflects only an aspect of the era, but never the whole culture, a mood of the reader, but never his whole sensibility. Mid-Victorians picked up the ILN because of its pictures and liked it because they saw reflected there their progress and felt a confirmation of their wish to believe that their works were good. But they were much more complex people than the ILN as mirror would suggest.

In the end it seems to me much more useful to regard the Illustrated London News not as a mirror of Victorian culture, but as an artifact of that culture, which altered it for its presence. Illustrated journalism changed a good many things in Victorian Britain. It fostered the professions of wood engraver and news illustrator and was a primary distributor for the work of artists in black and white. It competed with books and magazines, and eventually put printmakers, lithographers, and the hawkers of broadsides out of business, and replaced a good many gift books and annuals as well. Public figures had to adjust to a public viewing of their public and private lives never before possible. People got used to knowing what the people they heard about and the places they read about looked like. And illustrations, widely distributed, made a great impact. When Joseph Paxton, for example, sought to have his design for the Great Exhibition building adopted by the commissioners, he published a drawing of it in the Illustrated London News.[4]

As the world's first illustrated newspaper, the Illustrated London News had an important and enduring impact on the history of journalism as well. It was clearly in the vanguard of the expansion of the Sunday press that took place in the 1840s. In the Illustrated London News the standard fare of the Sunday press, with its emphasis on amusements and leisure activities rather than serious news, was offered for the first time, in altered form, to middle-class newspaper readers. The Sunday paper, the illustrated paper, was made respectable; and the ILN helped to make possible the general news miscellany that is today the Sunday paper. Ingram had an impact on British daily papers, too. When, after

the removal of the stamp duty in 1855, the Daily Telegraph appeared--a cheap daily with a jaunty reporting style--it was indebted in more than name to Ingram's abortive London Telegraph of the previous decade. And Ingram, with his auxiliary publishing enterprises, his illustrated books and his cheap daily paper, was surely an early version of the press's "speculative owner," a breed Raymond Williams describes as emerging in the late years of the nineteenth century. Williams is thinking of Newnes and Pearson and Northcliffe, whose Tit-Bits, Pearson's Weekly, and Answers, with their short leaders, snappy miscellaneous contents, and advertising stunts, are in a straight line of development from the Sunday papers of the 1840s; Northcliffe himself trained in Ingram's shop. The impact of the Illustrated London News was felt outside of Britain, too. It was soon imitated not only in London, where its rivals were successfully suppressed, but in Paris, Berlin, New York, Madrid, and Leipzig. As the forerunner of illustrated journalism, it was also the predecessor of photo journalism, and so of great magazines like Look and Life, and even Parade Magazine, the supplement to our fat Sunday paper whose very name suggests the panorama of the times that the ILN took as its image.[5]

On the large scale and the small scale, for cultural trends and to individual people, the publication of the Illustrated London News was an event. Contemporaries were astonished; they didn't believe an illustrated newspaper possible; they marveled. Years later Edmund Evans could still recall how he and Birket Foster, on their way home that Saturday afternoon from Landells's engraving shop, stopped in Red Lion Street to purchase the first number. And G. A. Sala, then fourteen years old and

hanging out in theatrical green rooms, saved his pocket money and tips to purchase "that wonderful picture paper."[6] The ILN really did become the family paper, the part of family life, that its proprietor intended. If all families did not await its arrival on Saturday evening and peruse its drawings gathered by the hearth-fire's light, a good many of them did, at least, save the paper in the family library. Andrew Lang fondly recalled that as a child the ILN had amused his sick bed, and he had been permitted to daub in the illustrations with his paints. John Leech's son, who at the age of five aspired to be like his father in every way, had a miniature easel set next to his father's and painted the engravings of the ILN "with an air of profound interest." Other families filed the paper on their shelves, and treated the bound volumes more sacredly. Arthur Bryant recalled,

> When I was a small boy, almost my greatest happiness was to lie on the floor in my father's library with a bound volume of the old Illustrated London News before me. Each volume was about half my own size, and covered, the earlier ones a year, and the later half a year of Victorian history. . . . But to a child it was more than a newspaper. It was the Aladdin's lamp to a wonderful world, all the more wonderful for having been a real one. On the very first page of the very first volume was a vast unfolding panorama. I was only allowed to open it if a grown-up was present, lest I should tear the precious thing: a circumstance for which I am now grateful, since it lies spread out before me as I write.

G. K. Chesterton, too, remember turning over the pages of his father's back numbers, and Sir John Squire used to lie on the floor, with his chin propped on his elbow, and concentrate on the vast volumes that his great-uncle in Devonshire had preserved.[7] No doubt there were many other Victorian and twentieth-century men and women with similar memories.

The Illustrated London News was, proverbially, a household word and a household habit.

It was the pictures, above all, for which the ILN was known and loved. The journal, as T. H. S. Escott explained, brought "contemporary events home to English households, so that they might be realized exactly as they happened, without the need of long descriptions." Without the need of long descriptions, indeed, almost independent of language, the ILN communicated. Noted Mason Jackson, "The pictures speak a universal language, which requires no teaching to comprehend." Joseph Hatton observed that the paper appealed to the civilized foreigner and the untutored savage alike. He found pictures cut from the journal's pages on a nobleman's fishing box, in the cottage of a Durham pitman, over the stove of an Indian cottage in a settlement beyond Quebec, and on a screen in a Mayfair drawing room. G. A. Sala saw copies of the ILN in Russia. When William Simpson realized that the member of the Vatican Council he had come to meet spoke neither English nor French, and he no Italian, he pointed to the illustrations in the ILN, smiled, and had a pleasant visit after all.[8]

Exactly as Ingram's obituarist asserted, the Illustrated London News did a great deal to diffuse knowledge and promote art among the people. Mason Jackson pointed out that the paper refined and elevated public taste, and a fascinating article in the Economist, reprinted in the ILN, claimed that "those whose office it is to dispense instruction are practicing a new art. Our great authors are now artists. They speak to the eye, and their language is fascinating and impressive." Focusing on the

ILN, the author affirmed that "pictorial representation may at once convey totally different and totally new ideas to the mind. The artist speaks a universal language. A Turk or a Chinese understands him at once, though to make either of them understand a written or spoken description, would require a long time and much instruction." I want now to quote at length from this article, because it does much to describe the important association of the ILN with the Great Exhibition that has served as a theme of this study--it is only fitting that the Crystal Palace should have been viewed first in its pages--and does much to place the paper in Victorian culture and to define its role in diffusing knowledge and art.

> If the modern improvements in the art of transmitting a knowledge of events by the pencil, be more efficacious in diffusing knowledge than the art of printing words, may we not expect it to be the forerunner of changes greater than printing has hitherto brought forward? Will not the modern art of speaking to the eye, confined to representations of the material world, excluding abstract and spiritual conceptions, increase the influence of that world, and give the knowledge derived from it a vast preponderance over the mind?
>
> The Great Exhibition itself, which is a representation to the eye, is a part of the same progress. It is performing the office of a large illustrated newspaper. It is the history of modern art and invention taught by their actual products. Like sun painting, it speaks all tongues. It wants the facility of spreading that history over the world, and the illustrated paper, without which it is doubtful if it could itself have ever existed, comes to its aid, dispenses the knowledge so scientifically gathered and arranged, and so graphically displayed in Hyde Park, over all the nations of the earth. The Exhibition can only diffuse knowledge by inviting persons from all quarters to come and see it at a great charge and great inconvenience; but its own classified and illustrated catalogues, and the illustrated newspaper, spread the gathered knowledge, for the charge of a few shillings, over distant lands and diversified nations. The Exhibition would be a comparatively feeble instrument for helping forward improvement, without the assistance of

> illustration and letter-press to convey a knowledge of its wonderful palace and its contents to the many millions who cannot possibly visit it.
>
> Representations of the material world and of common life do not constitute what is called high art; and it cannot escape observation, that the Exhibition, though it contains a few statues, is much more a collection of products of the arts that minister to the comforts and enjoyment of the millions, than of the products of high art. Instruments, from a steam engine to a bodkin, house furniture of all descriptions, and materials for clothing, from the most comfortable woollen to a gossamer web of lace, make up a large part of its contents. The common and the useful predominate far above fine and high art. In like manner, it is with common events, with subjects that interest the multitude, that illustrated newspapers fill their columns. To give illustrations they must have many customers, and the arts they cultivate must attract the multitude. Historical painting, grand compositions, even fine groups, and, above all, allegorical groups of sculpture, constituting high and fine art, have no charms for the people, and will not be encouraged. When those make large fortunes who carefully minister to the common wants, men of genius and talents will not long pursue any species of art which is less handsomely rewarded. Hitherto, though much talent has been engaged in illustrating passing events, the art had not done for it all of which it is susceptible. Now that it is becoming so extensively popular, it must attract to it the highest talents, and effect a revolution in art itself, making it more than ever subservient to the uses of the multitude, and in improving them by all the talents and genius that are now wasted on many profitless and improving pursuits.[9]

Like the Great Exhibition which it fostered and served, the Illustrated London News celebrated the progress and prosperity of the era, progress and prosperity measured in material goods and machines. It skirted the fine arts for the useful arts, abstractions for domestic furniture, the spiritual for the material, the problems of the age for its showy make-up, the refinements of the few for the comforts of the many. People pointed to the pictures, and they smiled. The families of the kingdom looked forward to the ILN's arrival, and young boys

saved their pennies; Paxton turned the paper to his purposes, and the Queen patronized its artists. But the poets and philosophers of the age, its most sensitive interpreters, found in the Illustrated London News and the era of illustrated journalism it initiated a gloomy prospect indeed. Wordsworth came across a copy of the journal in 1846 and wrote the following sonnet:

> Discourse was deemed Man's noblest attribute,
> And written words the glory of his hand;
> Then followed Printing with enlarged command
> For thought--dominion vast and absolute
> For spreading truth, and making love expand.
> Now prose and verse sunk into disrepute
> Must lacquey a dumb Art that best can suit
> The taste of this one-intellectual Land.
> A backward movement surely have we here,
> From manhood--back to childhood; for the age--
> Back towards caverned life's first rude career.
> Avaunt this vile abuse of pictured page!
> Must eyes be all in all, the tongue and ear
> Nothing? Heaven keep us from a lower stage![10]

Some years later Matthew Arnold looked at the Daily Telegraph and shuddered. This was a "new journalism," he said, and its purveyors were "roaring . . . young lions." "It has much to recommend it; it is full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts; its one great fault is that it is feather-brained."[11]

Wordsworth deplored the nonverbal appeal of the Illustrated London News; Arnold decried the lack of intellect in the new journalism. These opinions place the ILN squarely in the continuing debate over the purposes, values, and results of literacy that was carried on in the nineteenth century by men as diverse as Coleridge, Cobbett, Knight, Brougham, Hetherington, Chambers, Dickens, Ashley, and Mackay. The opponents of

the taxes on knowledge had argued in the 1830s that the increased circulation of good literature would elevate the common man. By the 1850s they worried that the common man had, instead, debased the quality of literature, that mass communications had stooped to the level of the masses. This debate over the purposes of mass communications and the value of popular culture continues in our own day in the work of Q. D. Leavis, Margaret Dalziel, Raymond Williams, and Richard Hoggart.[12] The Illustrated London News, which shaped a working-class reading form for the middle classes, and the many popular papers, news miscellanies, and Sunday magazines that followed it, are clearly central to this debate. A study of the ILN in its early days certainly won't provide any answers, but it may sharpen the terms in which the questions can be asked. For surely the Illustrated London News witnessed to middle-brow standards and hailed the material manifestations of progress; surely its illustrations eliminated the necessity of long descriptions, detailed analysis, and hard concentration. But just as surely it brought pictures into homes as never before, informed about current affairs, diffused a great deal of useful knowledge, and gave countless hours of pleasure to millions and millions of readers through well over a century. As popular literature, as a minister to comforts, enjoyment, and common wants, it is in some very good company.

Notes to Conclusion

1. "Death of Mr. Herbert Ingram, M.P. for Boston," ILN, 29 Sept. 1860, p. 285; Lady Ingram-Watkin and Sir John Gilbert, "Letters from Lady Ingram-Watkin and Sir John Gilbert, R.A." ILN, summer number 1892, p. vi; see also ILN, preface to volume 1, May-Dec. 1842. And see, too, Joseph Pennell, "The Making of Illustration: The Art of the Last Fifty Years," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 584. For a discussion along the same lines of the success of Chambers's Journal, as a business venture, as opposed to the Penny Magazine, a philanthropic-educational magazine, see Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History (London: Cohen & West, 1957), pp. 11-12. For the success of the ILN, see chapter 2. On the commercialization of the British press in general, see R. A. Scott-James, The Influence of the Press (London: S. W. Partridge, 1913), pp. 218-36.
2. See Kathleen Tillotson, Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, corrected ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 63. On this well-known shift in sensibility, as reflected in journalism, see James Grant, The Newspaper Press (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1871-72), I, 229-30. See also Maurice J. Quinlan, Victorian Prelude: A History of English Manners, 1700-1830 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), pp. 1-5; and Ian Jack's discussion of the "exaggerated propriety of language," English Literature, 1815-1832 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 434-36.
3. See Leslie A. Marchand, The Athenaeum: A Mirror of Victorian Culture (1941; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1971), especially preface and ch. 1.
4. For the details in this paragraph, see Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 362-63; Altick, Victorian Studies in Scarlet: Murders and Manners in the Age of Victoria (New York: Norton, 1970), p. 53; Henry Blackburn, The Art of Illustration, rev. J. S. Eland (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1901), p. 40; Ted Peterson, "James Catnach: Master of Street Literature," Journalism Quarterly, 27 (1950), 163; Pennell, "Making of Illustration," p. 584; William Simpson, The Autobiography of William Simpson. R.I. (Crimean Simpson), ed. George Eyre-Todd (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), pp. 17, 179.
5. See especially Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 194-97, 202-06; see also Altick, English Common Reader, pp. 363-64; Peter Biddlecombe, "As Much of Life as the World Can Show," ILN, 13 May 1967, p. 43; Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, Masters of English Journalism: A Study of Personal Forces (1911; rpt. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1970), pp. 228-29; Mason Jackson, The Pictorial Press: Its Origin and Progress (1885; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), p. 5; and Q. D. Leavis, Fiction and the Reading Public (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932), pp. 177-85. For the London Telegraph, see chapter 2.

6. Edmund Evans, The Reminiscences of Edmund Evans, ed. and introd. Ruari McLean (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 10; George Augustus Sala, The Life and Adventures of George Augustus Sala, Written by Himself (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), I, 131-32. See also Charles Knight, Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century, With a Prelude of Early Reminiscences (1864; rpt. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), III, 244; M. H. Spielmann, "Art Journalism--Then and Now," ILN, summer number 1892, p. x; Henry Vizetelly, Glances Back through Seventy Years (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner, 1893), I, 225, 237; and the comments by contemporaries cited in chapter 3, notes 35 and 36.
7. Andrew Lang, "A Jubilee Ode," ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 577 [see appendix 1 for entire text]; Frederic George Kitton, John Leech, Artist and Humourist: A Biographical Sketch (London: George Redway, 1883), p. 38; Arthur Bryant, "Our Notebook," ILN, 16 May 1942, p. 566; G. K. Chesterton, "Our Notebook: Tradition and Continuity, The Illustrated London News--1842-1932," ILN, 30 Apr. 1932, p. 672; Sir John Squire, "A Literary Centenary: Great Writers Who Have Contributed to the Illustrated London News during 100 Years," ILN, 16 May 1942, p. 576. On families keeping files of the ILN, see also David Williamson, "How We Keep Shop: The Working of a Great Newspaper--The Illustrated London News," Minster, 2 (Aug. 1895), 195.
8. Escott, Masters of English Journalism, p. 228; Joseph Hatton, Journalistic London, Being a Series of Sketches of Famous Pens and Papers of the Day (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882), p. 225, who quotes Jackson; Jackson, Pictorial Press, p. 1; Sala, Life and Adventures, I, 292-93; Simpson, Autobiography, pp. 237-38; see also Lang, "Jubilee Ode," p. 577.
9. "Death of Mr. Herbert Ingram," p. 285; Jackson, Pictorial Press, pp. 304, 307; "Speaking to the Eye," Economist, 17 May 1851, p. 533, reprinted in ILN, 24 May 1851, pp. 451-52.
10. Wordsworth's sonnet is classified as a "poem of sentiment and reflection"; see The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, ed. and introd. Thomas Hutchinson (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 489. See also Clement K. Shorter, "Illustrated Journalism: Its Past and Its Future," Contemporary Review, 75 (Apr. 1899), 494.
11. Matthew Arnold, preface to Essays in Criticism: First Series (1865) and "Up to Easter" (1887), both reprinted in Essays, Letters, and Reviews by Matthew Arnold, ed. Fraser Neiman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 95, 347-48.
12. See Leavis, Fiction and the Reading Public; Margaret Dalziel, Popular Fiction; Williams, Long Revolution; Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literary: Aspects of Working-Class Life, With Special Reference to Publications and Entertainments (London: Chatto & Windus, 1957); Hoggart, ed., Your Sunday Paper (London: University of London Press, 1967); and A. C. H. Smith, Elizabeth Immirzi, and Trevor Blackwell, Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change, 1935-1965, introd. Stuart Hall (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975). And see R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848: Literacy and Social Tension (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1955); and, especially, Altick, English Common Reader, pp. 363-76.

Appendix 1

Poems Celebrating the Illustrated London News

The poems written to and about the Illustrated London News that appeared in the journal over the course of its first decade distill in interesting fashion the journal's conception of itself and its purpose. In them we can see the ILN's concern for its respectability and its appeal to the family reading circle. Here, too, are displayed the journal's pretensions to recording the life of the times, and its enumeration of what that life consisted of. The journal took great pride in its wide circulation, its diffusion of useful knowledge, and its innovation in illustrated journalism, and in verse form often congratulated itself on these accomplishments. These poems, then, exhibit much of the spirit in which the early ILN was conducted and read, and for these purposes they are reprinted here. They are arranged in chronological order; prefaces to volumes were written upon their completion. A poem written on the occasion of the journal's fiftieth anniversary is also included.

1. "The Illustrated London News." ILN, 23 July 1842, p. 166.

The Illustrated London News

The Press had grown to giant might--
  The world before its spirit bowed;
It sped its way on wings of light,
  And nations with its fame were loud.
It gathered in its wondrous clasp
  The million themes that move mankind,
As though its godlike strength would grasp
  The sway of universal mind.

Old Wisdom brought it words of gold;
  Young Genius flashed it thoughts of fire;
Stern History on its page enrolled
  Her records; and the Muse's lyre
Rang there, with inspiration warm;
  Intelligence into its heart
Rolled all her rivers--still a charm
  Seemed wanted in the crown of Art!

Art, that unto the Press should be
  A very fair and jewelled bride,
Wooed--not as Doges wooed the sea,
  By throwing gems into its tide;
But as a proud gem-bringer--come
  Fresh as the Venus of the wave;
And bearing from her pearly home
  The riches of each treasure cave!

At last, so came she; but first went
  A summons for her presence forth;
Loud, and long-dwelling, till it spent
  Its south-born echoes in the north!
She answered; and, with joy divine,
  We robed her in her bridal dress,
Upled her to her nuptual shrine,
  And wedded Art unto the Press!

Anon, the glowing bride must choose
  A royal dwelling of her own--
She found within our London News
  Temple and palace, home and throne!
And here her smiling spirit pours
  Its beautiful enchantment round;
And here the thousand pictured stores
  That crown and deck her path abound!

Let the world rush upon our coast
  And gather all, and prize the least;
We only strew her treasure host;
  We only claim to be her priest.
Fancy or truth she may disport;
  No single ray will we repress,
Since all adorn, and all support
  Our old and honoured friend--the Press!

Let foreign war, with front of rage,
  Uprear its gaunt and grisly form,
Art's faithful pencil on our page,
  Points to the battle, siege, and storm!
Or when great enterprize shall spread
  Its mantle o'er the lands of earth,
By pictured paths the eye is led
  To places where its fruits have birth!

The cities of the world are here,
  The homes of commerce crowned with wealth,
Land of the blessing, or the bier
  Plague-spot, or paradise of health!--
And those to whom our fairer shore
  Has been one envied home, may have
Pictorial impress of such lore,
  As travellers earned beyond the wave!

Peace sheds her gentle light, and now
  Her retinue swells far our train;
Steam, fire, the axe, the loom, the plough,
  Are busy on our page again.
All that invention's brain conceives,
  Art by reflection brings to view,
While science lurking in our leaves,
  Smiles joy to find the mirror true!

High festivals that glad the land,
  Are they not grand in their array?
Transfix'd by art's unerring hand,
  Who hence shall sweep their pomp away?
Proud celebrations of our clime,
  The nation's land-marks of each year,
Like feathers from the wings of Time,
  Fleet not--but have endurance here!

The pastimes of our people, yes--
  The gala, race, review, or fair,
Light joys that for a moment bless
  The toiling crowd whose joy is rare:
These have their happy reflex--these
  Kind Art to glean is proud and sure,
And by her pencil, we would please
  Blend with, amuse, and glad the poor.

Our fine, old, grand, cathedral halls,
  Wherein the solemn organ swells,
Our rustic church, whose music falls
  More oft from humble village bells.
God's home, beneath whose roof is breathed
  The hushed prayer of the city's heart,
Or that which stands by foliage wreathed
  Mid trees embosomed and apart.

The moss-grown abbeys of the isle--
  The mansions of an olden time--
Whereon the sunlight's faintest smile
  Breaks but mid shadows more sublime.
The castle that o'ergrows the steep--
  Once some proud noble's strong domain--
Crown of the cliffs that fringe our deep,
  And frowning back its rage again!

The modern houses of the great,
  Our towns, our ports, our harbours fair,
Our architectural halls of state,
  Our palaces, all places rare--
All things of fine device. The high
  Trophies we raise unto our brave,
Which point their pathway to the sky,
  That canopies their mortal grave!

All these Art's pencil shall enshrine
  Here for all future time;
And thus a presence half divine,
  And influence half sublime,
Shed lustre on the pen--array
  Its glories in new dress,
And make more vivid, real, and gay,
  The Spirit of the Press!

But this great consummation--mark!
  Has been our work alone;
Art, in the press, has suffered yet
  No rival near her throne.
Our London News has wrought at length
  This unexpected feat;
And what it has commenced with strength,
  With pride it shall complete!

2. "Dedicatory Sonnet." ILN, preface to volume 1, May-Dec. 1842.

Dedicatory Sonnet

To the great public--that gigantic soul
  Which lends the nation's body life and light,
  And makes the blood within its veins grow bright
With gushing glory,--we this muster roll
Of all the deeds that pass neath its controul
  Do dedicate--the page of simple news
Is here adorned and filled with pictured life,
Coloured with thousand tints--the rainbow strife
  Of all the world's emotions--all the hues
Of war--peace--commerce;--agriculture rife
With budding plenty that doth life infuse
  And fair domestic joy--all--all are here
  To gild the new, and from the bygone year
Present a gift to take--to cherish and to use.

3. "Acrostic Apostrophe to the Illustrated London News! On Its First Anniversary." ILN, 27 May 1843, supp., p. 364.

Acrostic Apostrophe
to
The Illustrated London News!
On Its First Anniversary

"Thus we salute thee with our early song,
And welcome thee and wish thee long!"
Milton.

T welve months in frolic round the sun
H ave circled since thy task begun,*
E ncyclopede! of all that art has done!

I n the May morning of thy birth
L oud were the plaudits of thy worth!
L earning smil'd as on a flow'r
U nhop'd for in her classic bow'r--
S cience, with friendly hand, was near
T o guide thee to her farthest sphere!
R eligion frown'd not, but approv'd,
A nd Poesy gave songs she lov'd!
T ime pluck'd the winter from thy wing,
E ntailing on the endless spring:--
D ecember may salute, but with no sting!

L egends tell us nothing great
O r goods was ever yet create--
N othing, worthy of the mind,
D id not somewhere envy find:--
O 'er this thou art triumphant:--Fame
N ought but thy "welcomes" doth proclaim!

N o! Thou hast reach'd a great and glorious height,
E v'n in the onset snatching victory,
W ith hands, like infant Hercules, whose might
S how'd in his cradle what he yet would be!

*For the use of this preterito vide all the best writers of the last two centuries.

4. Untitled. ILN, 27 May 1843, supp., p. 370.

When sprang the bright globe from its maker's smile,
  And the drear night of nothingness had fled--
  When up rose nature from her granite bed,
And view'd her rule from Tanaïs to the Nile--
Her warmest blessings lighted on our isle,
Showered from her heart upon our country's head
Hope flung her rainbow o'er our dewy skies,
  And God-born genius at her voice awoke--
  Freedom and science slavery's fetter broke,
And crown'd the land with deathless energies!
Esto Perpetua! Through the inmost soul
  Of England flies a flame that cannot die;
Religion leads her, garbed in sacred stole,
  And gems upon her brow "Eternity."

To link in floral bonds, the Graces bright--
  Music, the Muse, and painting--claim'd of yore
  The praise and plaudits of the men who bore
The name of Greece to fame's immortal height.
Those imitating, hath our mental mite
  Striven to spread awide from shore to shore
  The brain daguerreotyped--the pencil's power--
Creatress of delight in deserts wide--
The voice of melody, the soul's first child--
  And triumph marks our progress to this hour.
Esto perpetua! Revolving time
  Finds not his wrinkles mirror'd on our page;
The beautiful is ours; and we may climb
  Some steps above it, in some future stage.

5. "Our Second Volume." ILN, preface to volume 2, Jan.-June 1843.

Our Second Volume

Another tome here tells the flight of Time,
  And how his measure has been richly filled!
  What pulses in the Nation's hearts have thrilled,
While Hist'ry followed on her march sublime!
Here are the records of each mighty pace
  Marked out by mind; and beautifully here,
  Through world's story of a half-sped year,
Art sheds her fair and fascinating grace,
Blent with stored knowledge for the human race.
  Another glorious volume of the past
Is now spread open at the reader's will!
  May we not boast it brighter than the last,
And hope for new ones fair and fairer still,
'Till all Perfections rare our dreams of good fulfil!

6. "To All the World." ILN, preface to volume 3, July-Dec. 1843.

To All the World

Through all the world--wherever man can read--
  This humble book to him we dedicate--
Filled with the thick events which God decreed.
  To wield his fortunes and to work his fate!

To Europe's sons--who for advancement toil,
  And fain would civilize as they grow old,
Banish grim War with all his bloody spoil,
  And wed sweet Peace, and fill her lap with gold!

Speed we this volume--laughing France will see
  How friendly are we children of the main;
And learn with what a warm old English glee,
  We'd pay her noble King's cheer back again!

Spain's too young Queen may read our sorrow here,
  That blood should drench her Eden of the vine!
Our hope that Peace her country's storms may clear,
  And the drunk sword thro' carnage cease to shine!

To Belgic realms we go with greeting smiles,
  Their sovereign hath a kindred with our own!
And lately saw our Lady of the Isles,
  In all her English beauty by his throne!

Prussia may give us too a kindly word
  Of welcome, as we there extend the hand,
For a free-granted fellowship incurred,
  By her own King, when lodged on English land!

The Austrian favor we would kindly gain--
  Rome's sunny smile--and Lisbon's vintage-car--
And speed unchecked thro' all the wide domain,
  That sways the Sultan or that owns the Czar!

Then to the burning Ind, where Ganges float
  Down the blue stream dark cargoes of the dead!
May we not steer a light and living boat,
  Freighted with mercy, love, and peace instead!

On the hot carcase let the vulture feed!
  Our hope is still that Britain's generous breast,
May never typify the vulture breed,
  And pant for conquest where men pine for rest!

From Afric's soil let Slavery's taint be swept!
  We go to greet the children of the free;
And where the widow wailed--the father wept--
  To plant the love that springs from Liberty!

America! the world Columbus found!
  Have we not borne into her bosom fair,
An Art-instruction that may yet abound
  In her young home, and thrive and quicken there!

So would we plunge into our fast career,
  Thro' all the living world of men--and so
Pour kindness down--that happiness might here
  Fill all the trumpet-blast that Fame should blow!

7. "Tributary Lines to the Illustrated London News, On Its Completing Its Hundredth Number," by a correspondent. ILN, 30 Mar. 1844, p. 202.

Tributary Lines to the Illustrated
London News,
On Its Completing Its Hundredth Number
(By a Correspondent)

Hail! orbit of thy second year,
Thy circle widening doth appear,
And round its intellectual sun,
Just, comet-like, its course doth run--
Eclipsing with its dazzling light
Some stars that, absent thee, were bright!
Long may'st thou in thy glory live
Continuing to grace and give
New lustre to whate'er thy touch
Already hath adorn'd so much!
The learn'd--the wise--the good--the great
Some moral food in thee can meet,
And in thy store's variety
Indulge without satiety!
Thy pen is dipp'd in honey all--
No ranc'rous spite--no venom'd gall
Doth stain thy pages--nothing there
But what the purest mind may share!
Thy handmaids are the Muses--Graces--
Who never wore such happy faces
As when with Fame they all agree
To twine a lasting wreath for Thee!

8. "Dedication." ILN, preface to volume 4, Jan.-June 1844.

Dedication

To Statesman, proud of Senatorial fame,--
  To Orator, Historian, Judge, and Seer,
To Patriot,--living with a holy name,--
To laurell'd Poet,--who the crown may claim
  Which Genius gives her gifted ones to wear;
  To Manhood noble, and to Beauty rare!
To the high dwellers by a dazzling Throne!
  To the proud Peers and Princes gathered there!
To all who high Nobility may own!
To mitred Bishops and to Churchmen grave
  Inspir'd Priest or village Pastor mild,
To all who labor human souls to save
  In this world's maze so wearisome and wild!

To the pale Student, by the lambent flame
  Who sighs, with lab'ring mind, for hidden lore
To cloistered Sage,--who doth not follow Fame,
  But the calm knowledge that enchants him more;
To the Prince-Merchant,--with his Ship-wings spread
  On distant flight, o'er many a surging main;--
And to the humbler Trader, wont to tread
  By lowlier paths, tho' still intent on gain!
To Sons of Science!--to the factory Band
  Working vast treasures from the loom and mine;
To the rough Farmer who,--with rugged hand,--
  Guides the sharp plough--or rears the fat'ning kine!

To the bold Soldier, train'd for paths of war,
  Sons of the sounding cannon and the glaive!
To the bluff Sailor,--off by Neptune's ear,
  Strong as his mast and dashing as his wave!
To those who mount Fame's ladder by the Pen
  Or paint their way, amid the arts of Peace,
Author and Artist;--and those bay-crown'd men
  Who Music's prison'd beauties can release
From Instruments endow'd with wondrous sound;
  Pouring wild streams of harmony along,
Or scatt'ring more melodious sweets around
  In all the dreamy tenderness of Song!--

To Artizan and Peasant: yes to all
  The throng of Humble Life--(to whom insure
Sweet Heav'n! such aids as with thy mercies fall!)
  To Child of Poverty and all the Poor!
To Cottage inmates, and to happy Homes
  Where family felicity prevails
More than beneath the weight of princely domes
  (For often Joy, where Fashion lingereth, fails!)
To Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, all
  Who thread the mazes of Domestic Life,
To youngling's bound in Childhood's happy thralls--
  Who bless the husband and endear the Wife!
To all the mighty family of Man
  Bound up in Brotherhood!--with Love elate
We give this Volume to peruse or scan
  And all its picture-Treasures dedicate;
Proud to be Certain,--let what may befal--
That it has food and pleasure for them all!

9. "Thou Art There! Tribute to the Ubiquity and Variety of the Illustrated London News," from a correspondent. ILN, 28 Sept. 1844, p. 203.

Thou Art There!
Tribute to the Ubiquity and Variety of the
Illustrated London News
(From a Correspondent)

Art-wonder! Press-marvel!
  Thy far fame is hurl'd
Over land, over water,
  O'er ocean and world.
Where the cold North looks down
  From his mountainous crest,
In the lap of the sweet South,
  The glow of the West,
Where East tosseth palaces
  Up to the sun,
And his rivers of glory
  Roll gold as they run--
    Thou art there!

They gave thee, in Britain,
  A land for thy birth,
The fairest, the boldest,
  The bravest of earth!
But thy bright island prison
  Can never detain
The wings that have borne thee
  O'er mountains and main.
The hued rainbow stretcheth not
  Over thy span;
Where'er the world's regions
  Have dwelling for man--
    Thou art there!

Doth sun light the valley,
  Doth storm rend the plain,
Is there war in the wild earth,
  Or wreck on the main?
Where mines send their treasures
  From bosoms of dark,
In the home of the eagle,
  The bed of the shark;
Where the fair steeds of Commerce
  Run beautiful race,
And the steam-wings of Science
  Annihilate space--
    Thou art there!

When dew-morn is dawning,
  When day-dreams are blest,
When Eve gives her warning
  For night's drowsy rest;
When the broad light of heaven
  Plays full from the moon,
Or the gloom-eclipse cometh
  To cloud her too soon!
When the hurricane roareth
  Its passion of dread,
And the Earth growls and shivers,
  And throws up its dead--
              Thou art there!

At home, in old England,
  Where roam as you will,
Thy soul-deep solicitude
  Lingereth still!
We watch thy fleet speeding
  From city to field,
And all thou art heeding,
  And all thou dost yield;
And from the fair coast, where
  The frost waters foam,
To the land's very centre,
  The heart of thy home--
              Thou art there!

Where the palace of Majesty
  Reared in its pride,
Waketh royalty's grandeur,
  And loyalty's tide;
At the paying of homage,
  The spreading of feast,
At the font--at the altar,
  Where Queen bends to priest,
Mid the pleasures, our regal ones
  Woo when alone,
Or, when fond glory-worshippers
  Group round the throne--
              Thou art there!

In the hall of our nobles,
  Prince, prelate, and peer,
Mid cold lowly grandeur,
  Mid high days of cheer,
At the ball and the gala,
  The rout and the race,
Where rich pleasure-votaries
  Ride in her chace;
On the course, in the yacht,
  In the street, at the play,
Where waneth the night out,
  Or wasteth the day--
            Thou art there!

When the noble is gone
  To the glowing link-side--
The home of his fathers,
  His castle of pride!
When the city is still
  On his desolate track,
And the tradesmen he fostered
  Are sighing him back;
When his great guests are joyful
  Around him, and hark!
When his kind peasants welcome him
  Back to his park--
            Thou art there!

When London is loud with
  Political strife,
And statesmen are stirring
  The tumult of life;
In the houses of senate,
  The hustings, the poll,
When the rats they entrap, and
  The dupes they enrol!
When the bold roar and bully,
  The weak cringe and bow,
In the midst of the national
  Quarrel art thou:--
            Thou art there!

Wherever men jostle,
  Wherever men range,
By mart-day or Sabbath,
  At church or on 'Change,
Where wealth-seeking merchants
  In fever have trod,
Or where becalmed thousands
  Kneel down before God--
Mid the hard chase for gold,
  Where fine heart chains are riven--
Or at the soul's shrine, where
  The race is for heaven--
              Thou art there!

The market, the warehouse,
  The theatre, the gaol--
Where'er the fierce contrasts
  Of life may prevail--
In the square that is flowered,
  The street that is wide,
Or where squalid wretchedness
  Draweth its tide:
Now gliding through gardens,
  Now trailing through mud;
At the morn by the Park,
  In the night by the flood--
              Thou art there!

Where the poor artist lingers,
  To paint for his bread,
While hope's feverish fingers
  Twine bays for his head!
Where the poor author feeleth
  His brian growing weak,
Though the hot flush of genius
  Burn still on his cheek!
Where the poor actor crouches
  Where beggars might lie,
With no one to thank him
  For pleasures gone by!--
              Thou art there!

Where the rich artist painteth--
  Where lordly ones rush--
With wealth on his easel,
  And gold in his brush!
Where rich author (rare
  And less credited thing)
For his muse keeps a carriage,
  And broiders her wing!
Where rich actor flutters,
  Mid plaudits of all,
And gathers up roses
  When green curtains fall--
              Thou art there!

In the field--in the fleet--
  By the loom--by the plough--
In the barn and the barrack--
  All-where goest thou.
Fair landscape thou gatherest
  Up from the land,
And city majestic,
  And edifice grand;
By silver-spread river,
  And beautiful hill--
To-day and forever,
  At word and at will--
              Thou art there!

Where the world of Columbus
  Spreads broad wealth afar--
In the home of the Sultan,
  The land of the Czar!
Where the pillars of Italy
  Rise from the past,
And Rome's ancient splendour
  In death seemeth vast;
In the bocages of France,
  And the vineyards of Spain;
On the hills of the nations,
  The waves of the main--
              Thou art there!

Art wooes thy companionship
  Land over land;
Science taketh no step without
  Grasp of thy hand.
Thou hast shed a new light
  On a civilised age.
And the treasures of empires
  Shine on thy page;
Where learning abideth,
  Where virtue is fair,
Where good men seek knowledge--
  Behold! thou art there!--
            Thou art there!

10. "Our Prefatory Poem." ILN, preface to volume 5, July-Dec. 1844.

Our Prefatory Poem

Another Volume,--(one more charmful link
In the bright strong and intellectual chain
That binds us to the public,)--bids us drink
From the full Cup of Gratitude again--
Pledging a happy future to those friends
Whose firm support has crown'd our prosperous Past;
And promising to work out noble ends,
With hardy purpose that shall live and last,
Long as their countenance our toil beguiles
And we are sunned by such a host of smiles!

A host!--the word is one of multitude:
Armies have been concentred in't ere now;
Yet is it not with such a force imbued
As may describe our "troops of friends;"--we bow
To half a world of readers;--thousands more
Than fight our nation's battle, read our page
In calm enjoyment of that peaceful lore
Which pours its influence upon youth and age,
Giving historic value to the time,
And fixing memory with a mark sublime!

How Art hath reared its triumphs in our tomes!--
How it hath ploughed, and tilled, and cropped our field,
It hath gone into a million homes!--
With what a glorious impress hath it sealed
Year after year of fate!--as Time rolls on
We form its picture-gallery of the mind,
For many after years to gaze upon
Through the dim Past at what it left behind!
And as it peers the wondrous vista through,
Dwell on the glories we have brought to view!

The by-gone year--nay this one volume--holds
No few memorials of a teeming age
Of startling progress; every leaf unfolds
Some novel freshness--Life on every page!
More of free Commerce, sprung from hallowed Peace,
Of friendly converse 'tween the crown'd of earth,
Of Royal Home-tours--that will never cease
To prove the Queen's love, and the people's worth.
More of Art's progress,--what the mind achieves
When Science guides it--Literature's display,
The Drama's mimic show--and all the leaves
In the strange book which we call "Every day!"

For still one feature more--we hope to gain
  The public favour--'tis our "New Year's Gift,"
Fresh watered into life by genial rain,
  Of Genius, Patience, Industry, and Thrift!
Thrown into pictured form--and soon we hope
  To deck some thousand walls, from goodly frames,
Showing our noble river's glorious scope
  The Mighty London on Majestic Thames!

Enough--more words were idle: now adieu,
  No more, sweet Public, we your time abuse,
But still grand efforts shall be made for you
  Who Illustrate the triumph of our News!

11. "The Ilustrated London News," from a correspondent, signed "Y." ILN, 9 Feb. 1850, supp., p. 98.

The Illustrated London News
(From a Correspondent)

Our six days' work is done--the week's last night
Sees us all circled round our hearth-fire's light--
  But nothing can our minds amuse;
For we are watching ev'ry knock and ring.
In anxious hope the tardy post will bring
  The Illustrated London News.

My wife has darn'd the last unmended hose,
My daughters' worsted flowers no more disclose
  Their glowing greens, and reds, and blues;
And little Jack has left his picture-book,
And waits on his low stool, with weary look,
  The Illustrated London News.

The music stands untouch'd, unheeded by--
No song nor sound breaks the monotony,
  Save when one ventures to abuse
The ling'ring post, whose tardiness would cheat
The week's last evening of its greatest treat--
  The Illustrated London News.

Hark! that's the postman's well-known knock--"All right!"
The welcome folded packet greets our sight,
  And quickly changes tones and views;
Now, Alice, stir the fire, and, wife, do you
Just trim the lamp--we'll have good light to view
  The Illustrated London News.

Now, leaf by leaf, we slowly turn it o'er,
On ev'ry sketch with height'ning rapture pore.
  Dire scenes of battles, smart reviews,
A town, a tower, a mountain pass, and rill,
A storm, a stranded ship, are scenes that fill
  The Illustrated London News.

A warrior chief, with spear, and sword, and crest,
A gallant horse, a modish lady drest
  In Paris Fashion's latest hues;
Rare plants, great actors, poets, birds of song,
Hugh reptiles, monstrous lions, tigers, throng
  The Illustrated London News.

All novelties of science and of art,
All news of men and manners, mine and mart,
  Here in all fullness we peruse;
Fat oxen, sheep and pigs, great beasts that win
The prize for hugeness, find a place within
  The Illustrated London News.

Plays, pictures, painters, pantomime, and song,
Great politicians, all the pages throng--
  With authors, sculptors, and the muse.
In fact, all scenes on which the sun has shone,
As the globe turns, are photograph'd upon
  The Illustrated London News.

Herald of pleasure; throughout all the year,
Long may thy pictured weekly sheets appear,
  To entertain, instruct, amuse,
And may the winter, summer, autumn, spring,
With all their changes, ne'er omit to bring
  The Illustrated London News!

Y.

12. "A Jubilee Ode," by Andrew Lang. ILN, 14 May 1892, p. 577.

A Jubilee Ode

The Illustrated London News
  Beholds her Jubilee:
How memory brings back the views
  Of old she showed to me!

I see the pictures from afar
  That pleased a child's sick-bed--
The woodcuts of the Russian War,
  The fields we daubed with red.

An unacknowledged painter, I
  Improved the artist's work--
How very blue I made the sky,
  How very brown the Turk!

O pictured page! O happy age!
  O combinations quaint!
An empire's agony, the rage
  Of war, were things to paint!

That old, disinterested art
  Of ours has passed away;
We primitifs endure our part
  In the world's brawl to-day.

But younger children yet may list
  With penny paints to mar
The bombshell of the Anarchist,
  The flames of social war.

Long is the pictured chronicle
  Of peace, of war, of mirth;
A wondrous tale the woodcuts tell
  Of changes on the earth.

Through every land goes forth her hand,
  The Illustrated News;
In temples of Roraima stand
  Framed fragments of her views.

Her pictures are the people's book,
  Those the unlettered please,
And gladly on her pages look
  The Zulus and Chinese.

Whate're stand fast, long may she last,
  Long may her works remain!
On far-off fields long may she cast
  The fertile chaff of Payn![1]

A bard who does not oft torment
  A somewhat faded Muse
These elements of ode hath sent
  To hymn the London News.

[1]James Payn, who contributed "Our Notebook" at this period.

Appendix 2

Fiction Published in the Illustrated London News, 1842-52

As much fiction published in nineteenth-century periodicals has never been reprinted in book form and is therefore not widely known, the following list of tales and novels published in the Illustrated London News, 1842-52, may be of some interest. The short tales published in the paper's Christmas numbers are listed separately, by year, in appendix 3.

Auerbach, Berthold. The Professor's Lady. Trans. Mary Howitt. ILN, 13 Nov. 1847-1 Jan. 1848.
Bremer, Frederica. Hopes. Trans. Lewis Filmore. ILN, 8-15 Mar. 1845.
Calabrella, Baroness de. The Orphan Heiress. ILN, 15 May 1847.
_____. Retribution. ILN, 30 Mar.-13 Apr. 1844.
Carleton, William. The Squanders of Squander Castle. Illus. F. W. Topham. ILN, 17 Jan.-1 May 1852 [incomplete].
Cockton, Henry. England and France; or, The Sisters: A Romance of Real Life. ILN, 18 Mar.-23 Dec. 1843.
Costello, Louisa Stuart. The Young Flageolet Player. ILN, 10-24 Feb. 1844.
Crowe, Catherine. Gerald Gage; or, The Secret. ILN, 10 Jan.-14 Mar. 1846.
A Dog-Cart Dialogue. ILN, 29 Nov. 1851.
Fick, Henrich. An Adventure on the Ice. ILN, 2 Jan. 1847.
Fitz-Stephen, by "The Old Sailor." ILN, 13 July-17 Aug. 1844.
Gypsey Experiences, by a Roumany Rei. ILN, 29 Nov.-27 Dec. 1851.
H., T. Woe and Kindness: A Cottager's Tale. ILN, 1 June 1850.
Hazlitt, W[illiam] [author? translator?]. A Tale of Brittany, from the French. ILN, 3 Jan. 1846.
The Heiress of Bilberry. Illus. John Leech. ILN, 29 Nov. 1851.
Jerrold, W. Blanchard. The Progress of a Bill. Illus. Kenny Meadows. ILN, 9 Sept.-28 Oct. 1848.
_____. The Verdict of the World: A Story from the Statues. ILN, 13 Dec. 1851.
La Mont, J. Oatt. The Grave of Genius. ILN, 21 May 1842.
Mayhew, Augustus. A Story of the Present Day. ILN, 1 Feb.-28 June 1851.
_____, and Henry Mayhew ["the Brothers Mayhew"]. The Fear of the World; or, Living for Appearances. ILN, 22 Dec. 1849-23 Feb. 1850.

_____, "editor." Letters Left at the Pastrycook's: Being the Clandestine Correspondence between Kitty Clover at School, and Her "Dear, Dear Friend" in Town. ILN, 9 Oct. 1852 [incomplete].
Miller, Thomas. Fred Holdersworth; or, Love and Pride. ILN, 19 Oct. 1850-11 Jan. 1851.
_____. Mabel Marchmont. ILN, 6-20 Jan. 1844.
Otello: A Tale of the Opera. ILN, 9 Aug.-27 Sept. 1845.
Pardoe, Julia. The Merchant's Daughter. ILN, 9-23 Mar. 1844.
Reybaud, Marie-Roch-Louis. Jerome Paturot: In Search of the Best Republic. Trans. and abridged Juliette Bauer. Illus. Gavarni. ILN, 11 Nov.-30 Dec. 1848.
Toulmin, Camilla. The Adopted; or, Impulse Not Principle. ILN, 20 Jan.-3 Feb. 1844.
_____. Gold; or, The Half-Brothers: A Story of Life in the Middle Station. ILN, 4 July-14 Nov. 1846.

Appendix 3

Christmas Features in the Illustrated London News, 1842-52

The Illustrated London News published every year at Christmas time special features that were designed to celebrate the season and entertain its readers. Starting in 1848, these Christmas features, which were the particular responsibility of Mark Lemon, were gathered together and published in a Christmas Supplement. The following list, by year, of short tales, sketches, poems, and other features published at Christmas time demonstrates the ILN's increasing attention to its magazine interest, to those aspects of its contents that were designed to amuse its readers. It also supplements the list of tales and sketches published in the ILN, 1842-52, given in appendix 2.

1842 issues for 24 and 31 December

"Christmas" [leading article], p. 513
"A Blessing on the Farmer's Home" [song], words by F. W. N. Bayley, music by Grattan Cooke, pp. 520-21
"Annuals" [humorous article], p. 521
"Pantomimes" [humorous article], p. 524
"Old Christmas: A Song of the Wassail Bowl" [poem], p. 528
"The Close of the Year 1842" [leading article], p. 529
"Jolly, Holly Christmas" [song], words by F. W. N. Bayley, music by T. Cooke, pp. 532-33
"The Christmas Pantomimes," by Alfred Crowquill, pp. 536-37
"The Theatres: The Pantomimes," pp. 538-39

1843 issues for 23 and 30 December

"Our Christmas Greeting" [leading article], p. 401
"Christmas" [poem], p. 406
"The Christmas Waits," illustrated, p. 410
"Literature," review of A Christmas Carol, by Charles Dickens, pp. 410-11

"The Yule-Block" [poem], by W., illustrated, p. 416
"The 'Music in the Hall,'" illustrated by Alfred Crowquill, p. 416
"The Old Year and the New" [leading article], pp. 417-18
"A Family Song for the New Year" [poem], pp. 422-23
"The Christmas Pantomimes," illustrated, pp. 424-25
"Valedictory Verses to the Old Year!" [poem], p. 426
"Twelfth-Night Characters," illustrations by Alfred Crowquill, pp. 429-30

1844 issues for 21 and 28 December

"Christmas" [leading article], p. 385
"Jolly Old Christmas" [song], written and composed by J. Augustine Wade, pp. 392-93
"Literature," review of The Chimes, by Charles Dickens, pp. 394-95
"A Song to Christmas" [poem], by F. P. P., illustrated by Alfred Crowquill, p. 401
"Pantomimes and Christmas Pieces," illustrated, pp. 408-10
"A Happy New Year" [poem], p. 410
"Fashions for the New Year," illustrated, p. 413

1845 issues for 20 and 27 December

"Bringing in Christmas," illustrated by William Harvey, pp. 392, 394
"Old English Christmas" [poem], illustrated by Kenny Meadows, pp. 393, 394
"Literature," review of The Cricket on the Hearth, by Charles Dickens, pp. 394 [excerpts], 406
"An English Christmas Home!" [song], song and chorus by Eliza Cook, music by Vincent Wallace, p. 400
"The Poultry Palace" [poem], illustrated, p. 408
"The Norfolk Coach" [poem], illustrated, pp. 408, 409
"The Song of Leadenhall Market," illustrated, p. 409
"A Gossip of Christmas," pp. 409-10
"A Christmas Carol" [poem], p. 410
"Fashions for the New Year," illustrated, p. 412
"The Theatres: The Christmas Pieces," illustrated, pp. 413-14, 416

1846 issues for 19 and 26 December

"Nativity Hymn" [song], words by Colonel Blacker, p. 391
"Literature: Books for Christmas" [review], pp. 391-92

"Christmas in Two Centuries" [leading article], pp. 401-02
"Christmas: The Compliments of the Season," illustration by Edward Duncan, p. 401
"Pictures for Christmas," illustrations by G. H. Dodgson, J. L. Williams, and Kenny Meadows, pp. 405, 408-09
"Christmas Presents" [poem], p. 406
"Christmas in Germany," with "Legend of the Christmas Tree" [poem], p. 406
"Christmas Morning," p. 406
"The Theatres: The Christmas Entertainments," p. 410
"National Sports" [on Christmas holiday games], p. 414
"Christmas Is Come" [song], words by Albert Smith, music by W. V. Wallace, p. 416

1847 issues for 25 December 1847 and 1 January 1848

"The Prospects of Peace" [leading article], pp. 409-10
"Christmas Pictures," pp. 409, 411-13
"Old Christmas," illustrated by William Harvey, pp. 415, 416
"Merry Christmas," illustration by Kenny Meadows, p. 417
"Christmas Comes But Once a Year" [poem], by Thomas Miller, p. 418
"Books for Christmas" [review], p. 418
"The Adoration of the Shepherds," engraving of a painting by Rembrandt, p. 420
"A Lament for the Heroes of Old Christmas Tales--Ghosts" [poem], by Angus B. Reach, p. 422
"Christmas Crackers" [jokes, conundrums, etc.], p. 424
"Paris Fashions for the New Year," illustrated, pp. 427-28
"A Happy New Year!" [poem] by Miss Sheridan Carey, illustrated by Kenny Meadows, pp. 429, 430
"The Old Year and the New" [poem], by Martin Tupper, illustrated by William Harvey, pp. 431, 432
"Christmas at the Theatres," illustrated, pp. 433, 434
"Twelfth-Night Characters, 1848," illustrated, pp. 436-37
"A New Year's Song" [song], poetry by F. W. N. Bayley, music by G. Herbert Rodwell, p. 440

1848 issues for 23 and 30 December and supplement to 23 December

"Celebration of Christmas at Rome," p. 388
"The Christmas Polka," music by W. H. B., p. 391
"Home for the Holidays," illustrated by Harrison Weir, p. 392
"A Holy Family," engraving of a painting by Paul Delaroche, pp. 393-94
"Christmas with the Yule Log," by Alfred Crowquill, p. 397
"Christmas Moralities" [leading article], pp. 401-02
"On Christmas Carols," by R. H. Horne, illustrated by G. H. Dodgson, pp. 401-03

"Friends Together: A Christmas Chant and Chorus" [poem], by Leigh Hunt, p. 403
"Plum-Pudding--A Christmas Rhapsody," illustrated by Kenny Meadows, pp. 403-04
"Grandpa's Present," illustrated by Edward Duncan, pp. 403, 405, 406
"Christmas Sports," by Uncle Tom, illustrated by E. H. Wehnert, pp. 405, 406
"The Old Year's Remonstrance" [poem], by Charles Mackay, pp. 406-07
"The Streets at Christmas Time," by the Oldest Inhabitant, illustrated by William Harvey and Birket Foster, pp. 407, 408, 413
"Fetching Home the Christmas Dinners," by Cousin Charles, illustrated by John Leech, pp. 407, 408, 410
"The Christmas Tree at Windsor Castle," illustrated by J. L. Williams, pp. 409, 410
"A German Christmas Tree," by R. H. Horne, p. 410
"The New Year's Promises" [poem], by Charles Mackay, pp. 410-11
"Christmas Eve, and Welcome to Old Friends," by John Heraud, illustrated by Marshall, pp. 411, 412
"The Waits" poem by the author of "Orion," illustrated by Kenny Meadows, pp. 411, 413
"The Comical Christmas Chronicle, Holiday Herald, and Jocular Journal for the New Year," Albert Smith, editor, pp. 414-15
"Under the Holly Bough: A Christmas Lyric" [song] poetry by Charles Mackay, music by C. W. Glover, p. 416
"Retrospect of 1848" [leading article], pp. 417-18
"New Year's Night," illustrated by F. W. Topham, p. 424
"The Theatres and Christmas Pieces," p. 430, 432

1849 issues for 22 and 29 December and supplement for 22 December

"Christmas Fruit," illustrated, pp. 401, 402
"The Christmas Pantomimes," illustrated, p. 416
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IV. Newspapers and Periodicals

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Bentley's Miscellany
Black and White
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine
Chambers's Journal
Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine
Dublin University Magazine
Examiner
Family Herald
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper
Fraser's Magazine
Gentleman's Magazine
Graphic
Howitt's Journal
Household Words
Illuminated Magazine
Illustrated London News
Illustrated News of the World
Illustrated Times
Lady's Newspaper
Leisure Hour
Literary World
Literary Gazette
London Journal
Macmillan's Magazine
New Monthly Belle Assemblée
New Monthly Magazine
New York Illustrated News
Nic-Nac
Pearson's Magazine
Penny Magazine
People's Journal
Pictorial Times
Punch
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